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PARIS, FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

ESTABLISHED 1887

Danes Get Time On Pact, but No *Renegotiation

OSLO - Trying to keep momentum of unity from shipping away despite Denmark's popular sole rejecting their ambitious treaty on European union, foreign minsters of the other II European Community countries decided at sion. "Parliament and the people an emergency session Thursday to would have to agree it was a differenced with ratification anyway

The said that Depurate might be and hope the Danes work some-

As it stands, the treaty, laying the foundations for a common Enropean currency as early as 1997 and urging a common foreign and security policy wherever possible, provides that it can only go into effect if all 12 countries ratify it.

The foreign ministers' decision to put a brave face on what most of them privately concede could keep Europe from ever evolving into more than a huge trade group was intended to buy the Danish government time to persuade Danish voters that they had made a mistake. But there are also indications that the longer it takes to ratify the treaty, the greater the opposition to it could be in other countries where people share the fear of being swallowed up, culturally, politically, and economically, in a federal state dominated by Europe's largest

The foreign ministers decided animously not to reopen the text of the treaty for new negotiations, though some officials said that small changes could not be ruled out eventually.

The ministers also agreed that the way would remain open for Denmark to participate in the European union the treaty would establish, according to a statement they issued late Wednesday after-

Later, the Danish prime minis ter, Poul Schluter, said in Copenhagen that he would not rule out a new referendum, though he added that it would have to be "on a different basis" than the one in which the voters expressed themSelves on Tuesday, 50.7 percent against and 49.3 percent for ratifi-

["I wouldn't rule out a new referdifferent basis," Mr. Schluter said in an interview with Danish televi-[He said that Denmark might be able to place a proposal regarding

EC 11 circle wagons after Danish referendum rebuff. Page 2. Was European unity just a brief Cold War illusion? Page 2.

its future relationship with the Community before an EC government conference in the autu might be in half a year, it might be

When Mr. Schluter and the other 11 European leaders signed the treaty in Masstricht, Netherlands, in December, they assumed that all communies would have ratified it by Jan. 1, 1993.

But on Thursday, the foreign ministers decided that the Danes could have more time — perhaps well into next year — to work out their next steps. "It's a serious matter," said the

British foreign secretary, Douglas Flurd. "It has to be tackled. But it doesn't need to be tackled in any pell-mell way."

The Danish foreign Minister,

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, said he had told his colleagnes it would probably take several months to figure out what to do. "We must recognize that the ref-

erendum has exposed problems not only in Denmark but in other countries, including Germany," said the German foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel. We have to do more to educate our people."

Opposition to the treaty has grown in Germany with the realization that a single currency would See EC, Page 6



VIGILANCE IN TIANANMEN SQUARE — Policemen in Beijing questioning two Americans who were throwing a Frisbee in Tiananmen Square on Thursday, the third anniversary of the massacre nearby of hundreds of pro-democracy demonstrators. The police arrested two founders of a banned Beijing labor union to prevent them from commemorating the Communist crackdown.

Rich-to-Poor Ecology Fund Is Proposed

New York Times Service
RIO DE JANEIRO — The World Bank has proposed that the United States and other donor countries contribute \$5 billion to a new fund it wants to set up to provide virtually free grants to help the world's poorest countries protect their ecological systems, officials disclosed here Thursday.

The plant's being pushed by the World Bank president, Lewis T. Preston, who wrote the countries last week explaining his plan to add "Earth increment" to the bank's soft-loan arm, known as the International Development Agency, when its funds are replenished next

On Thursday, Mr. Preston publicly an-

attending the Earth Summit, but he did not disclose how much money he hoped to raise. Officials said the United States, which contributes 22 percent of the International Devel-

Three European nations are considering a tougher declaration on carbon dioxide. Page 2.

opment Agency's funds, would consider the plan. Other donors appear supportive.

The World Bank's proposal constitutes one of several plans under debate at the Earth Summit for raising the \$70 billion in new aid that dd developing countries need annually to pay for an ambitious plan, known as Agenda 21, to clean up the world environment. Organizers hope to approve the plan at the summit meeting, which began Wednesday and

Without a substantial increase in aid, the developing world has said it cannot afford to continue its economic development in ways that safeguard the environment.

Officials said the new \$5 billion fund the World Bank favors would be earmarked for projects designed to protect the environment in countries with average annual per-capita incomes of less than \$740.

The fund would be in addition to the \$18 billion in new regular contributions the World Bank is asking from the International Develop-

See RIO, Page 2

NATO Offers Its Help in **Trouble Spots**

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

OSLO - The NATO alliance, searching for a new role after the end of the Cold War, agreed in principle Thursday to support peacekeeping operations in vio-lence-ridden areas of Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union if asked by the 52-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Eu-

Alliance officials made it clear that the agreement did not mean that they had decided to intervene either in the Balkans or in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azer-baijan, both of which are in a state

A United Nations peacekeeping force is already operating in parts of Croatia and Slovenia.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization ministers said they were deter-mined that United Nations sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro should work. Some said they hoped that the implied threat that NATO might become involved would help end the violence in the Balkans.

The American representative Deputy Secretary of State Law-rence S. Eagleburger, told the allies that the United States would not exclude providing ground troops

for peacekeeping operations.

Asked later whether he was also leaving open the possibility of a sea or air blockade of Serbia and Montenegro in support of the UN sanctions, Mr. Eagleburger answered, "That's a bridge I don't want to

cross at this stage." He said he knew of no plans for the United States to urge the secu-rity conference to ask NATO for peacekeeping forces when leaders of the group meet in Helsinki on

NATO's secretary-general. Manfred Wörner, said that such a request could only be made through a consensus of all the group's members, and that a

ably would also have to be agreed to at the time by all 16 members of

NATO has a rapid reaction force in the planning stages, but it will not be ready until 1995.

"The alliance has the capacity to contribute to effective actions by the CSCE in line with its new and increased responsibilities for crisis management and the peaceful settlement of disputes," the NATO ministers said in a communique.

"In this regard," they said, "we are prepared to support, on a case-by-case basis in accordance with our own procedures, peacekeeping activities under the responsibility of the CSCE, including by making available alliance resources and ex-

NATO representatives at the headquarters in Brussels will study practical options and arrangements for such missions, officials said.

France had been resisting the suggestion that the NATO alliance, rather than individual countries on their own authority, should take on a peacekeeping role. The careful language of the communique reflected a compromise that all the ministers, including Mr. Eagleburger, said they found satisfac-

under the shadow of the crisis brought on by Denmark's referendum rejecting a treaty on European union, also issued a statement blaming most of the violence in Yugoslavia on the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro and the army loyal to them.

Condemning the Serbian and Croatian paramilitary violence against Muslims in Sarajevo and Isewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the NATO ministers called for safe access under international supervision to airports in that country and

See NATO, Page 6

Voters, of All People, Seize Control of U.S. Politics

By Thomas B. Edsall and Dan Balz

Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — The emergence of Ross Perot as the leader in some public opinion polls has thrown a huge monkey wrench into the engine driving the nation's political system, wreaking havoc on conventional wisdom, predictions, and months if not years of planning and analysis.

Not only has Mr. Perot mounted the strongest independent presidential bid since Theodore Roosevelt bolted the Republican Party to run on the Bull Moose ticket in 1912, but also the two major parties are weaker and their nominees held in lower

esteem than at any time in several decades. Past geographic and demographic as-sumptions about the electorate could also prove irrelevant this year, because the overriding characteristic of the election so far is its unpredictability.

Vin Weber, Republican of Minnesota, a

NEWS ANALYSIS

retiring representative, said, "We are at a time when the voters are signaling their desire for forceful and dramatic leadership, and the two parties appear to be more illdefined in the minds of voters and stand for less than at any time in recent history -- less meaning nothing."

Edward J. Rollins, who signed up Wednesday as Mr. Perot's campaign manager, said, "The neatness of this campaign is that it's wide open."

If the primary season is any predictor, the voters - frustrated, angry and independentminded - have seized control of this election, and the candidates are rushing to find ways to appeal to them as personally as

At this point, virtually every assumption of planning a presidential race is up in the

Among the unknowns are the state of the economy later this year, the Supreme Court ruling on abortion expected in the next month, the durability of Mr. Perot as a

national candidate, and Mr. Perot's and Mr.

Clinton's vice presidential choices. The effect of recent events on the campaign appears out of whack with normal expectations. The most dramatic example," Mr. Lewis

said, "is that one year after the victory parades, Anita Hill moves more voters than Operation Desert Storm." That is another sign that traditional party

allegiances mean less than they did in past

"Are the parties in decline? Obviously they are," said Robert Beckel, manager of the failed 1984 campaign of Walter F. Mon-See VOTERS, Page 6

World Censure Haunts Serbs

By Blaine Harden

Washington Part Service
BELGRADE — Psychiatrists at the Belgrade Mental Health Climic began their morning staff meeting by kicking around the latest symptom of

national paranoia. One doctor said he had heard a rumor that an American spy plane had been shot down over Yugoslavia and that the United States was preparing to bomb Belgrade. Some of his colleagues said they had heard the same thing but did not believe it. Another doctor chimed in, "Who knows what is

"After that came a long depressive silence," said Vida Rakic, a child psychiatrist in whose office the meeting took place.

By decree of the UN Security Council, Yugoslavia — made up now of only Serbia and Montene-gro — has become one of the loneliest nations on

Belgrade says a UN report on its role in Bosnia proves that sanctions should be lifted. Page 2.

earth, and the adjustment to being an outcast is not

Mental health professionals here had lots of company as a whole society was beset by feelings of persecution and alienation. The foreign minister of Serbia said he had "reliable information" that

preparations were being made for the "violent See BELGRADE, Page 6

Kiosk

Bonn Says Stasi Used Hired Killers

BONN (NYT) - German authorities have arrested 12 people, including three former East German state security officers suspected of masterminding a ring of West German criminals believed to have inurdered hundreds of the Communist regime's opponents in West

Germany since the early 1970s.

Alexander von Stahl, Germany's federal prosecutor, said the arrests that began Wednesday and continued Thursday were part of arrests that began Wednesday and continued Thursday were part of a nationwide sweep made possible by new evidence showing that Past Germany's state security police, known as Stasi, maintained a network of hired West German criminals.

Sweden vowed to end neutrality after joining the EC. Page 7.





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More MONDAY SPORTS Starting next week, the Trib's Monday Sports coverage will grow to an additional page. That means there will be more stories, more results, more statistics and more pictures about the entire spectrum of weekend sporting activity from around the world. The summer weekends to come will be full of the premier sporting

events on the year's calendar — the French Open, the Olympics in Barcelona and, of course, the pro basketball finals, major league baseball and Grand Prix racing.

Monday Sports expands to get in more of the passion, more of the detail. Starting Monday, June 8.



ALONE AT THE TOP - Prime Minister Jan Olszewski of Poland in Parliament on Thursday. President Lech Walesa formally moved for the dismissal of his government. Mr. Olszewski faces a parliamentary vote of confidence Friday over the dismissal call.

Of Human Bondage: India Tolerates Slave Labor as Usual

By Edward A. Gargan

New York Times Service BRAHIMPUR, India - The spare 15year-old in a tattered shirt stood stiffly, shaking his head. "No," he said. "I don't

Gently, Kailash Satyarthi placed his hand on the young man's shoulder and said: "Bharat is this country, where you live. Bharat is India."

Around Mr. Satyarthi and Bushan Lal hovered a dozen other young men, some nodding in understanding, others wrestling

with a new idea: India. These men have never seen a white person," Mr. Salyarthi explained. "They

what money is. Some don't even know the name of their country. They were bonded laborers, people who have been in complete servitude."

Throughout India, such workers toil, unpaid and ill treated, in what amounts to slavery in stone quarries, brick kilns and yards, and the rice paddies of central and southern India.

police intervention and the work of people hidden phenomenon."

have never seen a newspaper. They have such as Mr. Satyarthi, who works at his never heard of America. They don't know center for these laborers about 30 kilomaters (20 miles) northeast of New Delhi.

By conservative estimates, he said, there are 5 million adults and 10 million children in bonded labor in India, which has a population of 844 million. He terms the system "the scourge of humanity,"

For more than a decade, Mr. Satyarthi. an engineer who gave up his career to work with India's outcastes and harijans, or un-Bonded labor — the practice of engaging touchables, has devoted his energies to workers without wages to pay off real or freeing India's bonded laborers from serviimagined debts - is against the law. But it tude, "Before 1979, nobody knew much persists despite court rulings, occasional about bonded labor," he said. "It was a owners or brick kiln managers with prom-

40,000 laborers from around the country," Mr. Satyarthi said. "I have lost two friends but that can never be fully repaid. while trying to liberate laborers, both in 1985. One was beaten to death with iron for any to escape. rods. One was shot dead. Both were in the quarries. Some people were arrested, but all were released later on."

Virtually all of India's bonded laborers are untouchables, who are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Some were born into their condition because their parents or grandparents had been sold. Others were lured into servitude by agents for quarry ises of higher-paying jobs than they had.

"Since 1980 we have liberated more than Still others fell into their position from the need to repay loans that were readily given, Once indentured, it is almost impossible

Only through repeated court orders from the national Supreme Court has Mr. Sa-

tyarthi been able to free any bonded workers. And even then, he said, local police and government officials often ignore court rui-"There is so much corruption," he "These owners are very powerful.

They can do anything."
Hari Krishna Kandoi said: "I'm a harijan. My family has been bonded labor for See SLAVES, Page 6

Saudis to Oil Firms: Don't Drill in Yemen

By Youssef M. Ibrahim

New York Times Service LONDON - Saudi Arabia has warned international oil companies from the United States, France, Britain and Canada to stop looking for oil in several thousand square miles of northern Yemen adjacent to Saudi borders or face the possibility of retaliatory measures, in-

cluding military action. The Saudi warnings contained in letters to the companies implied that they were operating in disput-ed onshore and offshore border areas between the two countries and in the Red Sea. But oil industry executives said many of the operations fell within territories between the 17th and 18th parallels widely believed for years to be under Ye-

meni sovereignty. The move, accompanied by increased Saudi border patrols inside Yemeni territory and a hostile campaign against Saudi Arabia in the Yemeni press, has significantly worsened the relationship between the longtime Arabian Peninsula rival nations.

Differences over borders between Saudi Arabia and Yemen date back to the 1930s, but the growing confrontation between Saudi Arabia and Yemen has taken a decisively nasty turn as a result of the deep animosities engendered by the Gulf War. Yemen appeared to back Iraq throughout the crisis.

Over the past few days, according to unconfirmed Yemeni press reports, Saudi Arabian intelligence operatives working in northern Yegovernment of president Ali Abdullah Saleh by promising Saudi citizenship to tribes in the border region if they supported Saudi

Oil executives in companies operating in Yemen have confirmed that increased patrols by Saudi Army personnel have been ob-

While the Saudi government has denied reports of military move-ments, it has over the past few days issued several statements accusing Yemen of resisting a settlement of outstanding border disputes. The Saudi government stood by its warnings to the oil companies and notified more of them to cease activities in disputed border regions

onshore and in the Red Sea. A cessation of oil exploration and production activities in Yemen would deal a heavy blow to the Yemeni economy. Foreign companies active there spend hundreds of millions of dollars looking for oil



even before they start producing it, thus contributing foreign currency to the impoverished country.

Yemen produces 200,000 barrels of oil a day from newly discovered fields and is expecting this output to rise to 800,000 barrels a day within five years, with the help and men were trying to destabilize the capital investments of about 20 forcign oil companies operating in

> In 1990 Saudi Arabia dealt a first blow to the Yemeni regime by evicting as many as I million Yemeni workers who were sending home hundreds of millions of dollars in remittances every year. The latest confrontation be-

See OIL, Page 6

By William K. Stevens New York Times Service

RIO DE JANEIRO — Even as a treaty to control global warming was being signed in the first substantive act of the Earth Summit, a group of European countries on Thursday was considering separate action that would go far beyond the terms of the treaty.

The declaration being discussed by Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands would commit any nation that signed it to stabilize emissions of heat-trapping atmospheric gases at 1990 levels by 2000, as the could be done legally, and in any case Mr. Reilly said that there was fully advocated in negotiations on the climate treaty.

But the new proposal, which would embarrass the United States if it were adopted, exceeds even the Europeans' earlier position by committing signatories to reduce emissions after 2000. Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands were the leaders of the group, but the proposal was aimed at other indus-trialized countries as well.

A member of the U.S. delegation said that the United States was "strongly opposed" to the proposal as an attempt, in effect, to rewrite the climate treaty's key provision on specific commitments to be taken by the industrialized countries.

The United States used the threat of President George Bush's absence at the Earth Summit to get the Europeans to agree to treaty language that falls far short of what they wanted. The United States

Hugo Haider, the Austrian min-ister of the environment, said that a decision on whether to offer the proposal formally here would be made "before the week is over." On another issue a number of

countries, including Brazil, Britain, Germany and Canada, were exploring the legal possibility of recasting part of the treaty on biolog-ical diversity, the other legally binding agreement to be signed here, to make it acceptable to the

The United States, while supporting the treaty's central provisions relating to conservation, has refused to sign it on other grounds.

Fund for Ecology

(Confinued from page 1)

ment Agency for the period 1993 to

About 70 countries are poor

enough to qualify for International

Development Agency loans. Meanwhile, rich and poor coun-

tries are locked in a diplomatic struggle in Rio over other ways of

raising the additional aid the Third World demands as its price for co-

operating with the Agenda 21 plan

lizing the climate and protecting

Originally the developing coun-

tries wanted all additional environ-

mental aid channeled through a

new Green Fund, which they

would control and which would

make loans without any strings at-

Donor countries were united in

opposing this. Instead, they are of-

fering an expansion of the World Bank's Global Environment Facili-

ty --- set up two years ago to back

environmental projects in the Third World — together with a

package of reforms designed to

give recipients a greater say in how

among donors in favor of doubling

or even tripling the GEF from its present level of \$1.3 billion when it

comes up for renewal next year,"

said Mohammed Ashry, the agen-

Developing countries also resent the Global Environment Facility's

links with the World Bank, which is

effectively controlled by the North-

ern Hemisphere's donor countries.

The compromise being offered

here is to create a new Participants

Assembly, representing both do-nors and recipients, which would

set broad policy guidelines by con-

The Third World has now

backed away from its Green Fund

proposal and agreed that fresh en-vironmental aid should be chan-

neled through a variety of existing

billion in environmental aid, the developing countries are pressing

donors to make good by the end of

this century on their long-standing

commitment to give up to 0.7 percent of their total economic output

Rich Northern Hemisphere

countries give about 0.45 percent of

their wealth in aid, which amounts

to some \$55 billion a year. Raising

this to 0.7 percent would double aid

flows and bring the total close to

what the developing world needs to

about 0.21 percent of its wealth in

foreign aid, has always refused to

accept the O.7 percent target and

will not make any new commit-

The United States, which gives

in development aid.

pay for Agenda 21.

ments to raise aid levels.

To find the bulk of the extra \$70

cy's chairman.

There is a consensus emerging

and the new conventions on stabi-

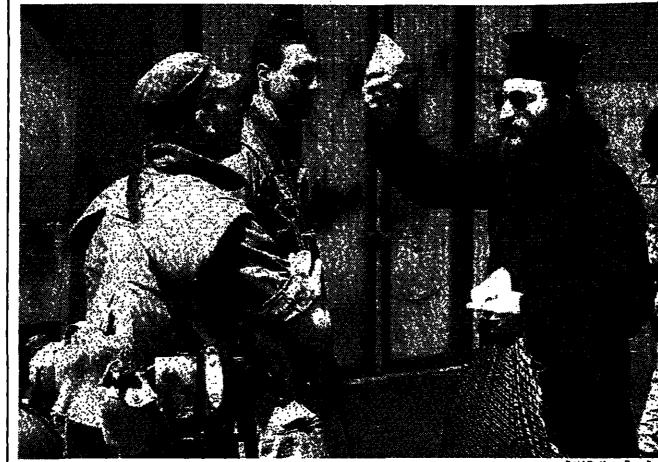
the world's biological diversity.

RIO:

It contends that some provisions would vitiate patent rights, harm the country's biotechnology industry and leave the treaty's mechanism for channeling conservation money from rich countries to poor ones unclear.

William K. Reilly, the head of the U.S. delegation, said that the other countries were aware of what treaty language would be acceptable to Washington, but that the Americans were not actively seeking to have the treaty redrawn in too little time to revise the treaty, and that any changes would have to be made after the Earth Summit.

In a simple ceremony, President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil became the first head of government to sign the climate treaty, which will commit signatory countries to take steps to stabilize atmospheric concentrations of such greenhouse gases as carbon dioxide and methane at safe levels, but sets steps for initial action only vaguely.



ANGER IN BETHLEHEM — A clergyman trying to enter Manger Square in Bethlehem on Thursday during a curiew imposed after a worker at the Church of the Nativity was wounded. Israeli soldiers killed the Palestinian attacker.

EC Unity: Was It Just a Cold War Dream?

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

OSLO - By its rejection of the treaty on European union, Den-mark has exposed the idea of European political unity for the fragile Cold War creature it was.

The message sent by Denmark, one of the smallest and proudest nations in Europe, was that it feared being swallowed up in a fed-eral state dominated by larger and more powerful neighbors.

But the concern of the supporters of union was that the Danes were not alone in their anxieties. Some officials at 10 Downing Street expressed relief that, finally, it was not just Britain that had doubts about how far national interests and ancient symbols of sovereignty should be submerged in a

By Tom Redburn

ational Herald Tribune

PARIS - The European Community remains a

beacon for the governments of Austria, Sweden,

Finland and Switzerland. But their bright hopes

for early admission into the club are dimming

along with those of still-hesitant Norway, as the 11

other EC members close ranks in response to the

Danish rejection of the Maastricht treaty on politi-

"There are a lot of people who already worried

that a host of new members could dilute the unity

of the Community," one EC official said. "The

The Danes have thrown into disarray, at least

for now, the plans of those pledged a further

"deepening" of the Community through greater

But as the EC regains its balance, advocates of

"widening" the Community by broadening its membership are likely to face greater difficulty. Can they persuade everyone that even affluent

outsiders like Sweden and Switzerland, which have

long prized their independence, will now play by

Making the case for the fledging democracies in the East, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and

The Danes, by forcing the EC to re-examine its

plans for greater political and economic integra-

tion, have also raised profound questions about the

future shape of the Community itself that must be

"You can't deal with enlargement when you are going through an identity crisis," said Jim Rollo,

director of European economic studies at the Roy-

al Institute for International Affairs in London.

What is the entity the new countries will be

joining? Is it the Treaty of Rome, the Maastricht accord, or something else entirely?"

In the immediate aftermath of the Danish refer-

endum, the Swedish prime minister, Carl Bildt,

acknowledged Wednesday that the vote was "a

setback" to his government's plans to open negoti-

ations next year on entry into the European Com-

munity by 1995.
Nonetheless, Sweden's conservative government

ing the economy through the extra competition that would flow from joining the EC — vowed to

press ahead. Defense Minister Anders Bjoerck, at a

news conference in Paris on Thursday, said Swe-

Herzegovina has been seized on by

Yugoslav leaders as grounds for the

lifting of international sanctions.

condemning the report, issued by

Secretary-General Butros Butros

Ghali, as naive and misleading.

They say it sabotages the interna-

But Western diplomats here are

which has staked its political future on revitaliz-

Hungary, could prove even harder.

power-sharing among the existing members.

Danes have only confirmed those fears."

cal and economic union.

the same rules?

dealt with first.

ent views of what the European Community should be today: a the NATO alliance. confederation of freely cooperating

NEWS ANALYSIS

sovereign states or a federation with a single currency, a single economic policy and a single foreign

and security policy.

On the idea of building a prosperous and powerful trading bloc together and never going to war again with one another, there has ed was to try to create a rope, a remarkable achievement in

make the European Community a schieving a common foreign policy.

The 11 Circle Their Wagons

After Danes' Rebuff, No Early Welcome to Outsiders

Nationalism nearly destroyed powerful and cohesive political Europe in two world wars, and it force in the world or even to enable lies at the heart of the unresolved it to defend itself. For that, as long contradiction between two differ- as the Soviet Union existed, Europe needed the United States, through it finally imposed an oil embargo

NATO's conventional forces were designed to deter Soviet at-tack and thus, in a sense, never to be used. Now they are impractical for use in dealing with new kinds of threats, resulting in the European Community's difficulties in coping with the violence in the Balkans, where ethnic brushfires threaten to

The treaty that Denmark rejected was to try to create a common been a true unity of views in Eu- European foreign and security policy as well as a common currency. But the crisis in the Balkans has But it has not been enough to made clear the difficulties in

den still wants to enter the EC by the beginning of 1995, "based on the Maastricht agreement."

Yet those opposed to EC membership in the several countries bidding for entry gained fresh ammunition in their efforts to halt their govern-

"The decision of the Danish people gives en-

couragement to mobilize all our efforts against a

Swiss entry into the EC," the traditionalist Auto

Party said in a statement, "and to prevent a surren-

direct democracy and plans to submit the govern-

ment's decision to join a broad European free

trade zone to Swiss voters later this year. The

Swiss, who remain outside the United Nations and

only last month agreed to join the International

Monetary Fund and the World Bank, could well

decide to keep their neighbors at bay a little longer.

That might be just fine with the Community's

negotiators. The Swiss were by far the most diffi-

cult to deal with in the bargaining with the Europe-an Free Trade Association that concluded last year

with an agreement to extend the EC's single mar-

ket rules to the seven EFTA nations, creating a

European Economic Area common market em-

bracing more than 400 million people in 19 coun-

Gros, senior research fellow at the Center for

European Policy Studies in Brussels. "I wouldn't

be surprised if they had second thoughts about

Like the Swedes, Swiss officials say they will

stick with their entry plans despite Denmark's decision. "The Danish vote shows that the EC has

to take account of even the small countries," a

But those knocking on the Community's door

may have to wait a while. Even the relatively

uncontroversial free trade agreement with the

EFTA nations could encounter delays as Brussels

tries to decide what to do about its Maastricht

Sorting out Denmark's refusal "will take the

EC's time and resources" away from the European Economic Area deal, Kjell Eliassen, Norway's am-

bassador to Britain, said at a London conference

legal affairs for the EFTA secretariat, "will have to

"The EC," agreed Sven Norberg, director of

Foreign ministry official said.

decide what the EC is first."

Serbs Cite UN Report in Plea to End Sanctions

The Swiss are difficult to please," said Daniel

Switzerland, like Denmark, relies heavily on

der of our self-reliance and independence."

ments' drive toward membership.

munity imposed economic sanctions on the remnant of the Yugoslav state dominated by Serbia, but only after the United Nations Security Council did so.

The nightly television scenes of Serbs killing Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and mortar shells falling on the medieval Croatian port of Dubrovnik are a shame and a scandal. West Europeans agree, and the violence has already confronted them with hundreds of thousands of refugees huddling on their doorsteps.

Yet neither NATO nor the European Community has any realistic plan or policy to quell the fighting or prevent it from spilling over into

NATO agreed last year to create a rapid reaction force that will consist of 70,000 to 100,000 troops from European countries and be supported by U.S. helicopters and planes. If it existed today, it might conceivably be sent in to enforce peace in the Balkans. But the corps will not even be ready until 1995. And there is no consensus among European members of NATO for using those troops, or any others, in such a peacekeeping role anyway.

Denmark's rejection of a treaty

on unity, unsurprisingly, came as a discouraging sign to the alliance's secretary-general, Manfred

rope at this very moment, confront- terest and speculation for U.S. and ed with very serious crises, I think other intelligence agencies, is no what Europe needs is the opposite more than 40 percent complete. of such a vote," he said.

France and Germany, saying they both want to strengthen Europe's ability to provide for its own defense, have announced the formation of a joint corps of 35,000 troops. But that has aroused British and American fears that it could undermine NATO.

But the French-German corps, too, does not yet exist in reality, and even if it did, the government in Bonn has insisted that the German soldiers in it could not go anywhere to do anything until the German Constitution is changed.
"We Europeans have to admit

openly: Europe has not yet gone so far as to be able to deal with this new kind of challenge," the German foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel, said in Paris this week.

The Danish foreign minister, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, who led the campaign for a yes vote, said this week that Denmark, too, did not want European foreign policy deci-sions made over its head, and that consensus was better.

Some diplomats in Europe, particularly those from the United States, observe that consensus often leads mostly to inaction, and that inaction in security affairs is really what most of the Europeaus, led by small countries like Denmark, really want.

These U.S. officials believe that Europe still needs the United States to help solve its most acute security problems, and that it may yet need the United States to lead it to effective action in Yugoslavia.

Monitor Calls Korea N-Facility 'Primitive'

By Don Oberdorfer

Washington Past Service
WASHINGTON — A video recording of a visit by international nuclear experts to a formerly secret nuclear installation in North Korea suggests that the facility is far from ready to produce enough photonium to make atomic weapons, according to International Atomic Energy Agency officials.

David Kyd, information director

the organization, which is based in Vienna, said by telephone that the video shows an "extremely primitive" facility that was visited in mid-May by the energy agency director-general, Hans Blix, and accompanying nuclear experts. The video, supplied by North Korea as a visual record of Mr. Blix's visit, shows the inside of a structure, about the length of two football fields, which the North Koreans called a "laboratory" for making plutonium from spent nuclear fue and which appears a long way from being finished, Mr. Kyd said.

Energy agency experts said the equipment in the building which "Looking at the picture in Eu- has been the subject of intense in-U.S. intelligence has been observing construction of the reprocessing plant — a key facility in a nuclear-weapons program — with growing apprehension for at least

four years. The CIA director, Robert M. Gates, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Feb. 25 that North Korea was "a few months to as much as a couple of years" from producing a nuclear weapon. A month later, on March 27, Mr. Gates told the House Armed Services Committee that the North Korean reprocessing plant was "nearly completed" and that "we believe Pyongyang is close, perhaps very close, to having

a nuclear-weapon capability."
Such intelligence reports had provided the basis for increasingly tough U.S. warnings to North Korea and an emerging atmosphere of crisis. Wednesday, a senior administration official defended the earlier U.S. intelligence data, saying that the "intelligence was admit-tedly vague" and that most news reporting about it had focused on the "worst case" side of the range of estimates provided by officials.

Kohl Sends Note **Assuring Bush** On Euro-Corps Washington Post Service

BONN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl, trying to calm U.S. worry that a new German-French military force would undermine NATO, has sent a letter to President George Bush assuring him of German loyalty to the alliance, officials said here. The chancellor's intention is to

again make it clear that this is not directed against NATO," according to a Kohl aide. Chancellor Kohl and President

François Mitterrand unveiled plans on May 22 for a 35,000-member joint force, to be known as the Euro-Corps, to be fielded by 1995 and possibly to serve as the nucleus of a European army.
Mr. Kohl's message followed un-

Mr. Kohl's message followed unusually share crinicism from Washington that trans-Atlantic ties were being strained by the plan.

DEATH NOTICE

Richard J. Walsh Died June 1st 1992 in his home city of Philadelphia after a long illness. In government service, he and his family had lived mainly in Europe since 1951 being in Geneva from 1964 to 1987. He is survived by his wife Patricia Walsh who will con-tinue to live in Philadelphia.

WORLD BRIEFS

France Reduces Nuclear-Alert Status

PARIS (AFP) — France, citing the dwindling nuclear threat since the collapse of the Soviet Union, will reduce its level of nuclear preparedness. military sources said Thursday.

They said the new strategy would include a reduction from three to two They said the new strategy would include a reduction from time to two in the number of missile-launching nuclear submarines deployed at any one time, as well as changes in the readiness status of many weapons. But military sources stressed that neither the reduction nor the recent announcement by President François Mitterrand that France was abandoning nuclear tests in the Pacific until the end of the year meant that the policy of maintaining a nuclear presence was being reconsidered.

Kuwait Aide Criticizes U.S. Envoy

KUWAIT (AP) — The speaker of Kuwait's interim legislature, the National Council, accused the U.S. ambassador, Edward W. Gnehm Jr. in an interview published Thursday of interfering in Kuwaiti affairs and

encouraging anti-government activists.

The official, Abdulaziz Masaeed, also belittled the American role in freeing Kuwait from Iraqi occupation, saying Washington became involved because it suited U.S. interests.

Mr. Masaced accused Mr. Gnehm of talking about democracy at informal gatherings where political and economic issues were discussed.

Tokyo Panel Backs UN Troop Role

TOKYO (Reuters) — A key parliamentary committee approved a billearly Friday that would allow Japanese troops to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations. The bill still has to be passed by the bicameral Diet to become law.

Japan's governing Liberal Democratic Party, ending a marathon de-bate, pushed the measure through a stormy session of the special upper

The bill is designed to allow Japan to send an army unit of 2,000 members to take part in UN peacekeeping missions, such as the one in Cambodia. It now goes to a vote in the plenary session of the 252 members of the upper house, where the Socialists have vowed to stage a

Israeli Cites New Demjanjuk Doubts

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JERUSALEM (WP) — The Israeli state prosecutor handling the case of John Demianjuk, the convicted war criminal, acknowledged Thursday for the first time that new evidence uncovered in Moscow cast doubt on whether Mr. Demjanjuk was the Nazi death camp guard known as "Ivan

Mr. Demianiuk, 72, was sentenced to death four years ago by an Israeli court, which said there was no doubt he was the gas-chamber operator at the Treblinka death camp in Poland, called "the Terrible" because of the sadistic way he whipped people while driving them into the gas chamber.

Born in Ukraine, Mr. Demjanjuk, a retired Cleveland autoworker who
was extradited from the United States to Israel, contended throughout his trial that he was a victim of mistaken identity.

U.K. Court Impugns IRA Conviction

LONDON (WP) — In another blow to Britain's justice system, an appeals court ruled Thursday that police, prosecutors, forensic experts and psychiatrists had improperly withheld evidence in the case of a woman wrongfully convicted of bombing a military bus for the IRA.

The three appeals judges ruled that Judith Ward, 43, had sevent 18 years 3 months and 5 days in prison for a crime she confessed to but did. years, 3 months and 5 days in prison for a crime she confessed to but did not commit. They threw out her confession as patently unreliable and said the forensic evidence that she had handled explosives was so badly

flawed that it was useless. Government scientists, they ruled, had conspired to conceal evidence and present a "false and distorted picture."

Miss Ward, released on bail, is the 17th person imprisoned in Britain for IRA bombings in the 1970s to be exonerated after findings of official cover-up and police misconduct.

For the Record

Pope John Paul II arrived Thursday in Luanda, Angola, to be greeted by President José Eduardo dos Santos and thousands of singing and dancing Angolans. Angola's population is 56 percent Roman Catholic. (AP)
Albanian police intervened for the second day Thursday to prevent nearly 2,000 people from forcing their way onto an Italian-bound ship in the port of Vlore, Tirana radio said. Vlore lies across the Adriatic from Brindisi, which was beset by Albanian refugees last year.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Lufthansa German Airlines plans to turn its "Lufthansa Express" would eliminate first class on domestic flights and offer only business and economy class in Germany and throughout Europe.

Japan and South Africa agreed Thursday to allow charter flights and to start talks on regular air links. (Reuters)

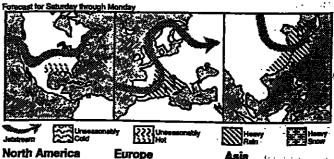
The port of Cherbourg, France, was shut Thursday in a strike that organizers said aimed to protect threatened jobs in the region. Barricades ere thrown up on all roads leading to the city and at major intersections.

Public transportation was to resume Friday, organizers said. (AFP)

A suspected gas leak at Atlanta airport shut both terminals for several hours Thursday. Most passengers were not affected, but some who expected to catch flights in Atlanta might have missed them, a Delta Air Lines spokesman said. The problem turned out to be a burst hydraulic line in some machinery.

The United States, the auctioned former luxury lines, left a shippard in Newport News, Virginia, on Thursday for a refurbishing in Turkey as a cruise ship after 23 years of sitting idle. The ship set a trans-Atlantic speed record on its maiden voyage in 1952.

The Weather



Europe southern Europe will con-tinue to have damp, uraset-tied weather this week-end. Trunderstorms will pound kely and southern France while a cool rain socies the Alpa and south-ern Germany. London to Paris will be mainly dry and gradually milder.

Asia Showery rains with heavy, thundery downpours will wet Kores and western Japen this weekend. Showers are Beely in Tokyo Sunday. Downpours will break out in muggy Hang Korg and Talpel. Steamy heat will persist in Singapore, Bangkok and Mersia.

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BELGRADE - A United Nations report casting doubt on Bel-A Western diplomat here said, grade's control over the Serbian forces that are devastating Bosnia-"This report is terribly misgnided

and destructive because it undermines the Security Council's own sanctions and sets back the world's intention of redirecting the Serbian people to the real source of their misery - the Milosevic regime."

Serbian officials and the statecontrolled Serbian press on Thurstional community's efforts to isoday played up the secretary-generlate the regime of the Serbian presial's report as vindication of their dent, Slobodan Milosevic, while claims that the new Serbian-domi-

strengthens our trust in the United ity of Belgrade. Nations," Branko Kostic, the head of Yugoslavia's collective presidency, told The Associated Press. He

urged the lifting of sanctions.
State-controlled Belgrade television described Mr. Butros Ghah's the number of outlaw groups report as "an implicit admission Serb, Muslim and Croat — is on that a mistake had been made" in the rise. singling out Yugoslavia as the aggressor in the Bosnian war and in imposing comprehensive economic

The secretary-general's report is dated May 30, the same day that sanctions were approved by the Security Council. For reasons that remain unclear, it was not shown to council members until after the

The report says that the carrying out of sanctions against Yugoslavia had been "greatly complicated" by the emergence inside Bosnia of "independent actors" beyond the control of Belgrade officials. The report specifically mentions

handing him a public-relations nated Yugoslavia was not to blame General Ratko Mladic, command-coup.

General Ratko Mladic, commander of Serbian forces inside Bosnia, "The report returns and as not being subject to the author-Western diplomats who monitor Belgrade's relations with Serb lead-

ers inside Bosnia concede that parts of the republic are descending into near anarchy. They say that But they say that the evidence

remains overwhelming that the Milosevic government, despite its denials, continues to shape the policies and bankroll the operations of radical Serbian leaders in Bosnia. Meanwhile, sporadic fighting

continued overnight in Bosnia, including Sarajevo. Violence across the republic reportedly claimed at least 45 lives, and Bosnian leaders again pleaded for foreign interven-

More than 5,000 people have been killed and I million left homeless by the two-month war. -BLAINE HARDEN

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The Mood Around Clinton: Abused and Confused

By David Maraniss

Washington Post Service
LOS ANGELES — On the morning after Bill Clinton clinched his party's presidential nomination, words that he had often used to evoke the frustrations of the American middle class seemed more applicable to

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the candidate's own predicament.
"I am tired of seeing people who work hard and play by the work hard and play by the work hard and play by the seeing people with the day's events and now? The frustration of the Arrange and his advisers. rules get the shall," Mr. Clinton

If nothing else during his long quest for the Democratic nomination, Mr. Clinton followed

that even Democratic voters had told exit poll-takers that they might junk him for a political

maverick, Ross Perot. "It's sad and a bit ironic in my



Mr. Clinton playing the saxophone during the taping of a television show. The show's host, Arsenio Hall, left, said "It's good to see a Democrat blowing something other than the election."

kansas governor and his advisers is compensated by a feeling — a hope, at least - that Wednesday was a starting-over point for all the candidates and the voters. Mr. Clinton said he was looking

forward to the general election as a chance to say to the voters: Give us a listen."

There are three dominant areas of concern for the Clinton campaign between now and the Democratic National Convention in New York in mid-July, his aides say. The first is to get the public to take another look at their candidate. The second is to deal with the Perot phenomenon. And the third is to use Mr. Clinton's selection of a running mate as a positive turning point in the election.

George Stephanopoulos, in charge of overseeing the message, said his goal between now and the convention is "to make sure all of America knows who Bill Clinton what he's done and what he stands for." That task should be easier now, Mr. Stephanopoulos said, without primary contests that were at times "both debilitat-

ing and distracting."
While Mr. Clinton will not abandon his cross-country travel-ing campaign style, he will modify it somewhat, and focus each week on a thematic speech and a half-hour paid national television call-in show. Mr. Greer said the of his life experiences, such as relating his education policies to the role schools played in his rise from small-town Arkansas to the national stage,

Some midlevel Clinton aides have grown increasingly frustrated with what they see as the campaign's inability to understand pop culture. They were dumbfounded when television and newspaper coverage was barred the other night when Mr. Clinton played the saxophone at a fundraiser. These aides sense that Mr. Clinton, 45, is still playing by an old rule of his that he should not alienate older voters by emphasizing his youth.

When James Carville, Mr. Clinton's tactical consultant, was asked about Mr. Perot this week, he sounded like he had just returned from a New Age psychological seminar.

"Let it go. Watch it. Sit back. Enjoy it. It's out there and there's nothing you can do about it," said Mr. Carville, who is rarely known for complacently going with the flow of events.

The smile on Mr. Carville's face betrayed a certain edge to what he was saying. Because President George Bush's cam-paign staff and posses of report-ers were searching Mr. Peror's background for revealing infor-mation, Mr. Carville said, there was not much the Clinton camp should do in that regard.

U.S. House **Sets Deeper** Troop Cuts Abroad

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives has voted to reduce the nearly 350,000 U.S. troops overseas even more than planned by the Pentagon, and also to press allies to pay more of the cost of keeping U.S. forces on their territo-

Opening debate on the fiscal year 1993 defense appropriations bill, the lawmakers voted to slash forces abroad by 40 percent.

The House voted Wednesday to cut total troop strength abroad by the end of 1995 to 228,000, including 100,000 from the forces in Europe. The troops in Europe are already down sharply from the 300,000 level maintained during the Cold War.

The House also approved a pro-posal that would require President George Bush to negotiate new formulas under which the Europeans and South Korea would pay 70 percent of the cost for keeping U.S. troops in their countries, much as lapan does. Representative Butler Derrick,

Democrat of South Carolina, said that keeping U.S. troops in Europe, South Korea and Japan last year cost about \$25 billion.

The House voted to reduce the Pentagon's \$274 billion budget by \$3.5 billion. This was adopted with the understanding that the Penta-gon would make up the difference either by speeding up withdrawals or inducing others to bear more of

The changes were the first in what is expected to be a spate of amendments to the defense bill. These range from conservative moves to restore money for the Strategic Defense Initiative, the missile-defense system, to liberal efforts to ban nuclear testing.

Despite the numerous amendments' expected, Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said he believed the measure would be approved

more or less intact. The Senate is expected to take up similar legislation in July.

British Warships Pass Suez

PORT SAID, Egypt —A British Navy carrier group passed through the Suez Canal on Thursday from the Mediterranean, headed for East Asia. Led by the Invincible, the group left England on May 12 for a six-month assignment.

Heart Surgery For Buchanan

WASHINGTON - The Republican presidential contender Patrick J. Buchanan is to have elective heart surgery on Friday to repair his aortic valve, a campaign spokesman said Thursday.
The spokesman, Dan Gir-

oux, said the surgery was to correct a problem that the conservative columnist has known about for at least 10 years.

He decided to have the maior surgery performed once the primary season was over. Mr. Buchanan, 53, entered the Washington Hospital Center on Thursday and is expected to remain there for eight days, Mr. Giroux said.

He said doctors say Mr. Buchanan will be fully recovered by the Republican National Convention in August.

Helms Is Recovering Well

United Press Intern RALEIGH, North Carolina -Senator Jesse Helms, 71, Republican of North Carolina, is in stable condition after undergoing open-heart surgery, his office has ancounced. Doctors replaced his mitral valve, and four coronary bypass grafts were done.

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Did Perot Combine Business With POW Effort?

By Patrick E. Tyler

New York Times Service WASHINGTON — After going to Hanoi in 1987 in an effort to free Americans who might have remained in captivity from the Vietnam War, Ross Perot and one of his associates discussed private business opportunities with Vietnamese officials, according to a senior Vietnamese official and Mr. Perot.

In a June 1990 letter, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry designated Mr. Perot and his company as a business agent of the government of Vietnam to help procure American investment for Hanoi once diplomatic and trade relations were normalized, Mr. Perot said. Those relations have yet to be normalized.

But Mr. Perot and the senior Vietnamese official agree about little else in ac-counts they provided about business discussions that appear to have overlapped with Mr. Perot's efforts to determine whether any American prisoners of war remained alive in Southeast Asia and, if they did, to free them.

None of Mr. Perot's contacts with Hanoi after his 1987 trip were disclosed to of foreign investment for Vietnam.

U.S. government officials who were engaged in negotiations with Vietnam. Nothing about the business discussions was illegal, but a number of American officials dealing with prisoner-of-war issues ex-pressed surprise, and some criticized the

Mr. Perot said that he never had any intention to invest in Vietnam or Southeast Asia and that his trip in 1987 to Hanoi and the eight subsequent trips by an asso-ciate. Harry McKillip, to meet with Viet-namese officials were either related to prisoner-of-war or missing-in-action issues or were purely social.

said he had engaged in several "philosophical" discussions about business opportunities with Vietnamese officials, but he dismissed these as the initiative of Vietnamese officials, including the foreign minister.

Mr. McKillip said he had not engaged in commercial negotiations with Vietnamese officials. He said he had merely supplied the foreign minister with books on management, investment and finance to aid the official's efforts to develop a code Mr. Perot said he had rejected the June 1990 letter from the foreign minister when Mr. McKillip returned with it from Hanoi, and that he had never replied to the Vietnamese, although Mr. McKillip continued his contacts with officials of the govern-

ment in Hanoi. On Wednesday, Mr. Perot read the contents of the letter over the telephone but declined to make public a copy of it, saying he feared that would harm current discussions between Vietnam and the

A senior official of Vietnam's Foreign Ministry, Le Van Bang, said in a telephone interview from Hanoi that his government had been discussing commercial ventures with Mr. Perot's representatives since sometime after Mr. Perot's 1987 visit to Hanoi, which was devoted mostly to issues involving prisoners of war and servicemen missing in action.

Mr. Bang, in an interview last month, sserted that Mr. Perot and his associate had promised money, medicines, medical equipment and other humanitarian aid in discussions that eventually included much larger commercial assistance. That aid is bargo.

referred to in the letter and in Mr. Bang's remarks during the telephone interview as falling into the categories of electronics, computers, oil and gas, transportation and real estate.

In a categorical rejection of the asser-tion that Mr. Perot's company actively pursued a commercial relationship with Vietnam, Mr. Perot said, "When the dust settles, no matter how you write it, you have my word, my oath on it: None of this is true. It did not occur."

He raised the possibility that Vietnam's Politburo had made a determination that it could curry favor with the Bush administration and speed normalization of trade and diplomatic ties with Washington by sabotaging Mr. Perot's putative run for the White House. Several American officials suggested

that any private dealings with Hanoi by Mr. Perot could reinforce hard-line views in the Politburo, where there is strong sentiment to delay cooperation on the re-patriation of POW remains as a way to exert leverage on Washington to speed normalization and the end of a trade em-

Elvis Ain't Nothin' But a Young Man

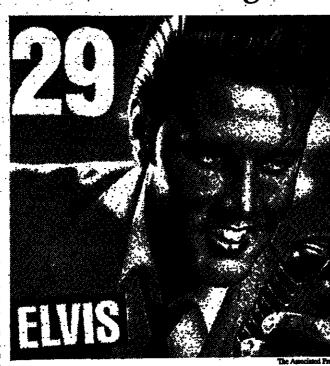
ica hasn't yet selected a new president, but it has picked its king. The 1950s version of Elvis Pres-ley from "Heartbreak Hotel" and "Hound Dog" fame has been voted in by fans for a new U.S. stamp honoring the singer. The king of rock and roll died in 1977 at age 42.

The Postal Service announced 'Thursday that the "young Elvis" design outpolled the "old Elvis" depiction of him amid Las Vegas glitter by a 3-to-1 margin. The imige will adom 29-cent first-class

letters in January.

Officials had commissioned two portraits. The winning one had Presley cradling a '50s-style microphone in his "Hound Dog" years. The other showed him as a puffier Las Vegas performer. With Presley's former wife, Pris-

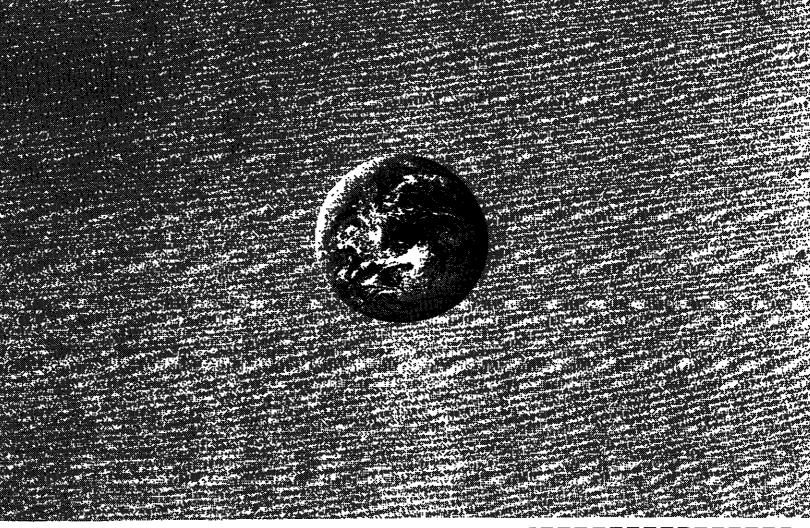
cilla, on hand, the results were an-nounced in Memphis. More than a million votes were cast. Critics objected to the project's \$300,000 in promotional costs, but the Postal Service expects to make imoney from collectors on the



Nationwide vote put the young Presley on the U.S. postage stamp.







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A Lever to Try on China

Bush administration threatened retaliation. its advantage and ignoring the others. Now negotiations are suddenly moving along productively. If the United States seriously wants China to meet its commitments on human rights, perhaps trade sanctions offer an effective lever.

In dealing with China, the United States has three great concerns. China's denial of human rights and its suppression of the democratic movement three years ago are especially troubling. On the second, the proliferation of massively destructive weapons, there has been some recent progress. In response to years of diplomatic pressure and persuasion. China has at last committed itself to the international rules on transfer of nuclear technology and missiles. While its past record gives cause for uneasiness, so far China seems to be keeping these promises. The third major American concern is trade.

The United States grants most-favorednation treatment to imports from China, meaning that China pays the lowest tariff any country gets. This benefit is enormously valuable to China, whose Survey United States are rising fast. President China's valuable to China, whose sales to the George Bush has now renewed China's

During the past year there has been an most-favored-nations status for another important change in trade relations between the United States and China. The reform there. But the Chinese government Chinese used to brush off American complaints about the grossly unfair tactics they choose among the standards of internationhave been using to hold down imports from al conduct, accepting those - such as acthe United States. Then, late last year, the cess to the American market — that work to

> Its attitude toward human rights certainly shows little sign of change. Last month security agents raided the Beijing bureau of The Washington Post, seizing notebooks and papers of our correspondent, Lena Sun. On human rights, the Bush administration has repeatedly settled for evasions and vague promises.

> On trade, in contrast, it told the Chinese last year that their treatment of American exports violated international rules and that if they did not negotiate enforceable agreements by next October, the United States would impose prohibitive tariffs on a wide range of the goods that they send to America. China has responded entirely rationally, and the latest word is that the negotiations are coming along well. The agreements apparently will cover even highly sensitive subjects, such as the widespread Chinese piracy of computer software.

> Why doesn't the Bush administration bring the same forcefulness and determination to bear on Chinese treatment of human rights?

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Next Step for Clinton

Bill Clinton, having emerged from the muddy scuffle of primary season with the delegates needed for the Democratic presidence is at least premature and dential nomination, suggests that the public will now step back and give his candidacy the fresh look under a broader lens that it deserves. We hope he is right. Primary fights tend to be fairly narrow and clamorous affairs that rarely do any candidate's reputation much good. Mr. Clinton, in our view, saw his identity bent out of shape and his record obscured even more than most.

His advance to the votes needed for nomination came across in the press and on television as a kind of combination soap opera and high-wire act, a series of narrow escapes from the various unearthings and renderings of the "character question," a series, as well, of endlessly confounded press predictions that he was about to lose whatever primary was coming next.

The script included all of that, but in

retrospect it was mainly a good bit duller, the steady progress of a tortoise whose well-conceived and mainly centrist campaign defeated the hares. A long list of prominent Democrats declined to run when George Bush looked a lot stronger than he does now. Two former high office-holders running as outsiders, nonpoliticians and, in part, as stand-ins for none-of-the-above then gave the Arkansas governor his strongest competition. Under intense pressure from these competitors as well as the media. Mr. Clinton showed himself a good fighter tough but not nasty or mean.

What Bill Clinton has been for years is the popular, skillful, imaginative and mostly progressive governor of a very poor and therefore difficult state. Nobody in his right ind would firmly predict anyth the November election today: Each new sur- summon the country to more. prise of this election year has managed to be

misplaced. All three of the contenders in the current race have a chance. Mr. Clinton's chance depends on what he does now.

He needs to assist in the process of rediscovery he is urging. But the discussion needs to be much more serious and authoritative on his part than it has been thus far. and on the overriding issue of the budget deficit especially. It would be no excuse for Mr. Clinton and no help to him at all to take refuge in the fact that neither the president nor Ross Perot has yet said practically anything plausible on how the deficit can be reduced. Current wisdom may have it that voters don't want to hear such policy choices and proposals, only talk of general values and principles. But the current wisdom has not been much to brag about at any point this year. Mr. Clinton appears to have thought more and harder about many issues of government than either of his competitors, and we would say his only chance of prevailing lies in making this clear to the voters — and, above all in importance, in speaking hard, politically audacious sense on the deficit. He should take a page from Paul Tsongas's book here.

The next president will be able to govern no better than this one has unless he reduces the deficit. The question is how. Which taxes does he seek a mandate to raise, which spending to cut, in order to accomplish his various objectives? Mr. Clinton has carefully avoided much of the overpromising that has distinguished so many Democratic candidates past. That is good, but as part of the process of demonstrating the seriousness of

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

Their Newfound Power

Senate, demanding that the vote to confirm members are women. Clarence Thomas as a U.S. Supreme Court justice be shelved until Anita Hill's sexual won major party nominations; a dozen othharassment charges could be heard. Then ers are running in Senate primaries. In addi-fast forward to this week's California prima-tion, victories by women in California's conry, where Democratic voters set the stage for gressional primaries could increase their

running for the Senate from the same state. Outrage over the Thomas hearings, conducted by an all-male Senate panel, is hardgence of women as a growing force in national politics. Their success also owes much to general dissatisfaction with politics as usual, with male domination of the pro-

cess and with specific issues like abortion. The Thomas factor clearly helped one of the California nominees, Representative Barbara Boxer, who led the Thomas protest former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Fein- a no-longer-silent majority. stein, broadened that message with the slo-

Think back to that angry day last fall when gan "2 Percent Is Not Enough," a reference seven women representatives marched to the to the fact that only two of the Senate's 100

Six serious women contenders have now the first election in history with two women representation in the state's delegation. Mrs. Feinstein and her two male opponents were competing for the two years remaining in the term vacated by Governor Pete Wilson. Ms. ly the only reason for the welcome emer- Boxer and her two male opponents were vying for the full-term seat held by Senator Alan Cranston, who is retiring.

The Thomas controversy and abortion rights were surely igniting influences in California, but Tuesday's primary results also bear a larger lesson for American politics. Women are now discovering the political power that has long been theirs. In Califormarch on Capitol Hill. The other winner, nia, as elsewhere, they can be - and are -

Other Comment

Perot's Jolting Crapshoot

Almost everywhere Americans pause to talk politics these days, the focus is on the Texas billionaire who is set to launch an independent bid for the presidency. It could be that the [Ross] Perot boom may be a burst bubble once voters get serious and examine his policies and character. But that assumes the nation does not want a take-charge leader. Whatever the outcome of the Perot crapshoot, it has joited America from its feeling that the political game is fixed by rules that cannot be changed and that there is precious little the ordinary citizen can do about it. On the contrary, this year citizens can vote not just for income - to ask the poor to curb growth by one of three candidates but for change that, for better or worse, could be revolutionary.

- The Baltimore Sun.

Rich Nations, Poor Nations

Ever since it became apparent that damage to the environment was posing a threat to the well-being of all mankind, the nations of the North and the South have been at odds about who is to blame and what should be done about it. The developing nations feel they are being unfairly accused of spoiling the environment. They expect the industrial ized nations to help them so they can surive and grow without depleting their natural assets. They find it unfair of industrialized nations — the 23 percent of the global population who enjoy 85 percent of the total limiting use of their natural resources while the rich nations continue to wallow in luxury.

- The Jakaria Post.

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Mng. Der. Asia: Rolf D. Kranepuhl, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong. Tel. 8610616. Telex; 61170
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OPINION

Europe Gets a Dose of Realism

By Leslie H. Gelb

N EW YORK — Very bad week for Europe, the trouba-dours of doorn will sing for weeks: Perhaps the idea of a united Western Europe was buried in Denmark. Southeastern Europe is going up in flames. And the great Russian experiment in democracy and free enterprise is collapsing.

But the troubles could prove beneficial; European leaders' dreams of cohesiveness bely reality, Reformist techni-cians in Russia are out of touch with suffering workers. The leaders need wakeup calls to address tough questions about ends and means, questions that have become politically incorrect even to ask. Midcourse corrections are in order.

When the shock of Tuesday's Danish vote againstcurrency union subsides. West Europeans will find a way to continue toward greater unity. But it will be slower and with more attention to gaining popular support — and holding on to the security connection with America.

As the horror of Yugoslavia sets in and as it becomes

apparent that Europe lacks the cohesion to respond to such crises, Europeans may look more constructively at preserving U.S. leadership. NATO's decision Thursday to offer peacekeeping services to Europe is an encouraging example.

As Russia struggles with economic chaos, its leaders will

have to pull back and strike a balance between market reforms and public support. Free marketeers will tear their hair out, but President Boris Yeltsin was wise this week not to sactifice democracy on the alter of economic reform. The end of the Cold War caused the Yeltsins, the Chancellor Kohls and others to hurtle toward their dreams - political

unity or collective security or capitalism — somewhat breathlessly and without people power.

The Danes voted against the Maastricht treaty and the drive to a common West European currency by only a tiny majority. Those opposed included environmentalists, contains and ordinary people led by solicitude property. socialists and ordinary people led by political unknowns. But they shared an anxiety that undoubtedly has resonance throughout Western Europe: of having their national identity swallowed up by the faceless bureaucrats of the European Community and by the big powers.

Many Danes who voted for the treaty did so not out of

conviction, but from fear of being left off the common economic bandwagon. Their leaders were too far ahead of them in abandoning sovereignty. This feeling, too, may be

widely felt in other West European states. It may also turn out that most Danes worned about the Maastricht commitment to a common foreign and defense policy. Perhaps they realized that this would mean greater reliance on French-German military power and less on America and NATO. And perhaps that gave many Europe-ans a sense of mease, and premanning. Perhaps from and Paris now will reconsider their plan for a joint army corps that seems to undercut ties to Washington and NATO.

To see the importance of these old ties. Europeans have only to flip on their television sets and gaze on the Bosnian massacres. European leaders simply could not deal with the situation on their own. Washington properly stood back in the early days of the Yugoslav crisis and let the Europeans take the lead. All too soon it became clear that they could agree only on exhortations of peace.

Europeans could not even agree on economic sanctions to stop the slaughter. The Bush administration had to step in last week to organize a sanctions resolution at the United Nations. The experience was not a pleasant one for Enropean leaders. But it must have brought home to them the indispensability of U.S. leadership. That could prove a useful reminder when and if they realize the need

for further action to stop the fighting.

Lost in the Bosnian bloodshed and the Danish vote were decisions by Boris Yeltsin to recalibrate economic reforms. He ordered the printing of more money to pay off potential strikers, thus producing higher deficits and inflation. He also replaced some reform-minded ministers with conservatives. International Monetary Fund bureaucrats will protest and threaten to deny pending loans. But Mr. Yeltsin's goals remain the right ones. And if he is to stay in power, he has to prevent mass unemployment and compromise with a conservative parliament.

Setbacks and retrenchment for Russian and West Eu-

ropean leaders could turn out well. They needed a dose

The New York Times.



You can't trust the Danes. Now I've got to vote "Yes" just to prove my Irish independence.'

NATO: This European-American Quarrel Serves Neither Side

PARIS — The NATO decision Thursday to I place peacekeeping forces at the disposal of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe enlarges NATO's relevance to the probleans confronting Europe today, but it does not solve the current quarrel between Washington and the West Europeans on the future of West-

em security arrangements. This argument — essentially between the United States and France, but with the Germans today on France's side - is really the same argument that has been going on fruitless-ly since the war years, when Franklin Roosevelt refused to support the Gaullist movement and argued that liberated France be dealt with as an

occupied country, not an ally. The proximate cause of today's quarrel was the French-German decision to create a multi-national European army corps, but the underly-ing issues involve changing national power rela-tionships. Europe is advancing in power while the United States has been losing its economic and industrial edge over the rest of the world.

Germany and France are the dominant states of the new Europe. If Germany chooses to join France in creating a new military force, doing so despite Washington's argument that this is unnecessary and tends to undermine NATO. this demonstrates America's loss of power.

In the past, Germany has faithfully followed America's leadership. Not to have done so this time greatly irritates Washington, but is also extremely significant. The Germans are saying implicitly, that they believe their long-term security depends more on their relations with By William Pfaff

their fellow Europeans than on Washington. This is a momentous development

The American loss of power today follows directly from the country's squandering of economic and industrial leadership during the 1970s. It thereby sacrificed a basic element in its claim to political leadership.

What was lost was not simply American economic autonomy, making the United States dependent upon foreign credits, but the respect of foreign governments. The Japanese as well as European governments concluded that America's leadership no longer had the will, or capaci-ty, to preserve the leading role that the United states had occupied since the war. Beyond this is another factor, which can be

described as a matter of political psychology. France in particular, and contemporary Europeans in general, tend toward a pessimistic or at least cautionary view of the larger future. They hope - and work - for the best, but are by no means sure that all will turn out for the best. Events in Yugoslavia today, as well as the uncertainties about the ex-Soviet Union's future, cause them particular concern.

Americans, on the other hand, have always been an optimistic people. Enthusiasm for Ross Perot's unannounced presidential candidacy is a sign of optimism much more than of desperation. There is a prevailing belief that the United States always will find a providential solution: Mr. Perot is merely the latest. And virtually

By Gideon Rafael

no American fears for America's security. When Washington looks at Europe's future, it considers NATO the proven security solution. Thus it vigorously backs any extension of NATO competence and range of action. It sees any European move that might dilute NATO's cohesion as a step backward. It finds it hard to understand that any such move

could be other than an act of national vanity

and national aggrandizement by the French.
But when the French look to the future —and in recent years, increasingly, the Germans as well
— they see what they consider an inevitable
American withdrawal from Europe. They do not
the United States to leave; quite the contrary. But they think that it will go. As Charles de
Genlle said to his ministers as early as 1963 "A Gaulle said to his ministers as early as 1963, "A carrious epoch, Messieurs, when one cannot say -without provoking I do not know what uproar

that ... America is not Europe.' They find much in this year's U.S. presiden tial campaign to convince them that at least a limited American withdrawal from Europe will take place in the next few years. They conclude that they must prepare security mechanisms to look after themselves afterward. Thus for several years there has been a new emphasis on the Western European Union, the

nine-member security organization set up by the Europeans before NATO was formed, which now is supposed to become the military arm of the European Community.

The French and Germans have also explored bilateral cooperation. The French like this because it binds the Germans to France and to the

West - a permanent matter of anxiety in Paris. The Germans accept it for the same reasons. For some time, therefore, an experimental French-German joint brigade has existed, and now there is the plan to create a 35,000-man "Eurocorps," expected to consist of a French light armored division based in Germany and a German armored infantry division. The other Europeans have been invited to join, with predictable results: Belgians and Spanish may be interested, while the British and Dutch reject the idea.

Serbs in Opposition

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The German division would be one now under NATO command. The French contribution would be the first permanent French commitment to an integrated command since France left the NATO command in 1966. The United States dislikes the Eurocorps because it is thought to weaken or tend to substitute for NATO. The American delegation to NATO has for the past three years been vainly campaigning for quite the opposite step, a subordination of all the West's cooperative institutions -European Community included — to NATO's strategic leadership or coordination.

But does one really need to quarrel over this? With Yugoslavia in mounting rain and the United States in political crisis, it is reasonable both for the Europeans to take precautions against certain real risks in their future, and for Americans to emphasize the importance of a stable and proven security institution. Neither excludes the other. In today's Europe, both sides have better concerns than fighting with one another.

International Herald Tribune.

25 Years Later: The View From the Eye of a Six-Day Hurricane , ,

TERUSALEM -- President Nasser's demand in May 1967 that the United Nations evacuate its peacekeeping forces from the Egyp-tian-Israeli border and the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba hit the Middle

East like a bolt from the blue. That demand, followed by a huge injection of Egyptian troops and accompanied by boisterous predictions of Israeli doom, foreshadowed a new Arab-Israeli conflagration, the third

since Israel's independence in 1948. Neither Israel nor the United Nations was prepared for the approaching tempest. Nor, it now appears, did Nasser and his Syrian and Jordanian allies fully comprehend the risks incurred, so visceral was their desire to strike a deadly blow at Israel.

From the beginning of the crisis the United Nations was the focal point of crisis management. As Israel's ambassador to the

United Nations, I was instructed by Jerusalem to convey a message to Cairo, through the good offices of Secretary General U Thant, that Israel had no belligerent intentions and that it had not (contrary to Soviet disinformation) concentrated forces along the Syrian border. Nasser's answer arrived without

delay. He insisted on the immediate withdrawal of United Nations forces. The Security Council was rendered powerless by the threat of a veto from the Soviet Union, the Arabs' partner. And so the storm clouds burst on

the morning of June 5 in a downpour of fire and devastation over Middle Eastern battlefields. The lessons of international lethargy, UN helplessness and the use-

ess of international guarantees left a deep mark on Israel. So did the crushing sense of solitude in our hour of trial. We had appealed repeatedly to the secretary-general not to withdraw the UN peacekeepers. With the evacua-

tion already under way we asked him again, to no avail, to keep at least those UN units in place that ensured free passage into the Gulf of Aqaba. We suggested a mission by U Thant to Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem. But upon his arrival in Cairo he was rebuffed by Nasser, and he

returned, discouraged, to New York. We of the UN delegation transmit-ted to Prime Minister Levi Eshkol the secretary-general's last-minute appeal that the two key governments,

those of Israel and Egypt, agree to a cooling-off period; the request was dropped when Nasser rejected it.

Israel made its case in world capitals and before the Security Council. In a special mission to Moscow, I apprised the Soviet government of Israel's stand and warned of the dangers of outsiders fanning the flames of Arab bellicosity.

We asked the leading Western powers - Britain, France and the United States — to help safeguard the peace. Finally, after our agoniz-ing wait for international intervention proved futile, Israel was compelled to act in legitimate self-defense to cut the encircling noose. The fighting in the days to come

left Israel in control of an area extending from the Suez Canal to the headwaters of the Jordan river and from the Golan Heights of Syria to the West Bank, which Jordan had occupied in 1948. When the smoke had cleared, the

Israeli government submitted peace proposals to Secretary of State Dean Rusk for transmission to the Arab governments. Israel declared its willingness to subordinate territorial

gains to the cause of peace. In exchange for the establishment of normal, contractual relations of peace, it was prepared to withdraw its forces to the international boundaries existing between British-administered Palestine and Egypt and Syria. In the context of a peace treaty,

Israel envisaged only such adjust-ments as were necessitated by security considerations in the south and the unimpaired flow of the Jordan's headwaters in the north. The plan called for the demilitarization of certain areas and confirmed Israel's readiness to consider a special status for the protection of, and free access to, holy sites in Jerusalem.
On the future status of the West

Bank the government considered two approaches. The first assumed that a settlement could be reached with King Hussein; the second envisaged an association between the West Bank and Israel, based on self-rule and economic union. The Arab League answered Israel's

peace proposals with a triple "no." Meeting in Khartoum in August 1967, it declared: no negotiations, no recognition and no peace with Israel. A long political stalemate now began.

Belligerency continued to account Belligerency continued to govern Arab-Israeli relations. Six years after the 1967 war, Egypt and Syria at-tacked in what became known as the Yom Kippur War. It ended in their defeat. A Security Council resolution, sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, called on the parties to enter into direct peace negotiations under "appropriate auspices." It took six years of diplomatic wrangling for Israel and Egypt to

though it was opposed by Egypt's Arab brothers and the Palestinians, changed the psychological, political and strategic dimensions of the Middle East equation.

The world has changed radically

Arab-Israeli crisis. The peace treaty,

since those six days in June 1967. Russia's trouble-making in the Middle East has ceased; its peacemaking intentions are evident but its capacities are limited. The United States has taken the

lead in affairs of the area. Though it has the best of intentions, results are yet to come Saddam Hussein has been hurt seriously but remains in power. Moanmar Gadhafi, if not immortal, seems to be undeterrable in his pursuit of mischief. Israel, a staunch but at times mis-

understood ally of the United States. is in the throes of a decisive election campaign, where its will to peace is uncontested but its way to peace is a matter of fierce controversy. Continued Mideast turmoil remains

a matter of grave concern to the international community, which relies on America's pacifying influence and hopes for greater impartiality from an invigorated United Nations. Ongoing efforts to achieve a peace

ful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict must result in an irreversible process. The outcome is vital far beyoud the Middle Fast. A successful conclusion to the peace talks would be one of the crowning achievements of the century.

The writer is a former director-gen-eral of the Israeli Foreign Ministry; during the 1967 war he headed the Israeli mission to the United Nations. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1892: Ex-Priest's Plight NEW YORK - Father Dent, the

conclude peace under the insist hand of President Jimmy Carter.

This was the turning point of the

unfrocked Catholic priest of the Diocese of Buffalo, has been suing his superiors for libel, and, to make things lively, he subpoensed Arch-bishop Corrigan, Bishop Ryan and sundry priests to serve papers on whom he has been hammering away at the convent doors to get at the supervisors, rushing into confessionals, to the affright of penitents, in order to serve the officiating priests, and raising a rumpus generally.

1917: Aid for the Blind

PARIS - The Permanent Blind War Fund, which is prefixed by the initials A. B. F. B. (American, British, French, Belgian), has recently entered upon a new work in Paris for the blind soldiers of France. This organization, which was one of the most extensive of all the American charity works, was founded by Mr. and Mrs. George A. Kessler. The

fund was first opened in England and commenced its activities in America in April, 1916. Its patrons include the King and Queen of England the King and Queen of the Belgians and the President of the French Republic.

1942: Heydrich Is Dead

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] Reinhard Heydrich, scourge of Nazi-occupied Europe, died in Prague today [June 4] while the rifles of his Gestapo took revenge among the populace for his assassination. Twenty-four more Czechs were executed in Prague and Brno after the announcement of Heydrich's death, the Prague radio announced tonight. But the terror loosed by henchmen of Fuehrer Adolf Hitler's hangman, which already had claimed the lives of 163 hostages in Bohemia and Moravia, was building up its own counter-terror. The German radio it-self revealed that Nazis in the Protec-

Likud Is Close to Blowing the Election of Mr. Rabin over his longtime rival,

T EL AVIV — The legendary Brooklyn Democratic leader Hymie Shorenstein used to refer to Franklin Roosevelt as "the Staten Island Ferry." Asked why, he replied: "You know how when the boat glides into the ferry slip, it drags in all the garbage from the harbor behind it? For the rest of our candidates, FDR is the Staten Island Ferry."

The election in Israel on June 23 centers on one man: Yitzhak Rabin. If the gut issue were settlements on the West Bank, the current prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, would lead the rightist Likud to victory. By populating the West Bank with Jews, he tells me, "we will make impossible the es-tablishment of a Palestinian state."

Labor's Mr. Rabin, who was prime minister in the '70s, is for the less popular "territorial compromise." He would continue settlements in the Jordan Valley and the southern approaches and suburbs of Jerusalem for security purposes, but says, "I

oppose political settlements."

That opens the door to dealing which counters Likud, is the slippery

slope to a PLO state.

That specific issue, paramount in the minds of diplomats and commentators, is not being fought out here. Nor does this campaign pit socialist economics against free markets; Likud can proudly point to a 6 percent growth rate, but it has failed to remove the dead hand of government ownership from the Israeli economy.

The scrap is about the comeback of

Mr. Rabin. In the television spots just

By William Safire

begun, Labor hardly mentions the party or other candidates; instead, Mr. Rabin's exploits as commander of the war 25 years ago are recounted and his familiar visage dominates the screen. Contrariwise, Mr. Shamir is downplayed in many Likud ads; they picture the unpopular Labor candid and warn that they would run the country if Mr. Rabin won.

In the street campaign as well, Mr. Rabin is the issue. He was smeared early for a nervous breakdown decades ago, and — though a genuinely private public man — had to discuss it at length in an interview.

He is also denounced as a drunk (as was Boris Yeltsin); some of his angry supporters responded with an attack on the 76-year-old Shamir as impotent, nap-prone and short. America is not the only democracy where cam-paigns focus below the belt. I like and respect both Yitzbaks,

and as a card-carrying right-wing hawk I am leavy of the lettics hiding behind Mr. Rabin. And I don't like the way the Bush administration is trying to influence the election by withholding loan guarantees in hopes of ousting the Shamir government. But I think Likud is blowing this election all by itself. The dissension among the triumvirate under Shamir - Moshe Arens, Ariel Sharon and David Levy - is something fierce. That unresolved succession is in

sharp contrast to the clear-cut victory

Shimon Peres. I mistakenly went to Labor headquarters, with its old pic-tures of Mr. Peres and halls filled with hacks, to meet Mr. Rabin; it turned out my appointment was at his "personal headquarters," with plain pipe racks and busy young people bustling about. He is running alone, and other Labor candidates know that Mr. Rabin's comeback is

their comeback.
"The problem in Israel's political system," he says, "is that we have no clear-cut decision. We tried to change the system to the direct election of the prime minister, but Liked torpedoed the idea this time. They were afraid of the verdict of the people."

Over at Mr. Shamir's office, after pointing out that the Rabin populari-ty "is baseless — he was a failure as prime minister," the short but potent Likudnik revealingly said: "I don't like the American personification, personalization of campaigns. I prefer the other way, where people vote for strategies and principles, not for a man. What is a man? Nothing."

To me, that illuminates the basic difference in approach to politics that characterizes this Israeli campaign. Yitzhak Rabin is a strong individual leader topping a listless list; Yitzhak Shamir is a principled movement politician on top of a bickering bunch of talented individuals.

What is a man? In politics, everything - if he can sail into office like the Staten Island Ferry. The New York Times.

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مكنامن الأجل

OPINION

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Five East Timor civilians have been sentenced to terms of 6 months to 10 years for anti-Indonesian activities related to the November disturbances, and 7 others

Message From California: Trouble for Republicans

By Kevin Phillips

N EW YORK — The biggest message the state's voters give the billionaire populist a 10- to 15-point lead over Mr. cans, not the Democrats. It came in the Bush in a three-way race. Nationally, the president has slid to 35 percent job apsmall but potent package of Ross Perot. His explosive presence makes the old proval — the lowest of his term. For the conservative-liberal fights in the Republican Party look harmless, because with California as his launching pad he is dividing — perhaps fatally — the Republican presidential coalition that has controlled the White II. first time since national polling began in the 1930s, several surveys showed the independent leading the Democratic and Republican candidates. There is still a big asterisk for Ross controlled the White House for 20 of 24 Perot - and here, too, a significant part years. While some 50 percent to 60 percent of Republicans back President

of the message came from the West Coast. In the week before the primaries, his comment that he would not let gays or percent back Mr. Perot, the former Readulterers serve in his cabinet triggered a negative reaction among California gays and, to a lesser extent, from Hollywood. Polls showed that even Mr. Perot's supporters disagreed with him, and me sympathizers privately warn that this is just the first surfacing of an officious punitanism that may ruin his chances. Preachy U.S. third-party candidates have usually been confined on the margin: the mid-19th century Free Soil-

> ization may also apply to the weak 1980 independent candidate, John Anderson. Nevertheless, the historical precedents for Mr. Perot are becoming more encouraging. In May, analysts began to agree that he was mounting the most serious challenge to Republican-Democratic control of the presidency since Theodore Roosevelt won 27 percent in 1912 running on the Bull Moose ticket. Now one can wonder whether Mr. Perot might not be something bigger — the most serious outside contender since the newly emerging Republican Party of the 1850s. Theodore Roosevelt was an ex-presi

ers, for example, and the turn-of-the-century Prohibitionists. This character-



made his mark. Mr. Perot is still a growing force. And unlike the three strongest independent contenders of the last 75 years — Robert LaFollette (16.5 percent in 1924), George Wallace

(13.5 percent in 1968) and John Ander-

son (6.6 percent in 1980) — the Texan

is not a fringe candidate. On the contrary, he is a centrist whose greatest appeal is in the increasingly dominant Sun Belt. And he is running against weak major-party candidates in a year when unprecedented numbers of Americans think that the country is on

the wrong track and that the two major

parties are part of the problem. The fact that Ronald Reagan's campaign manager, Ed Rollins, has just teamed up with Jimmy Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, to run the Perot campaign is only further confirmation of the threat. This could be the start of something big.

The writer, publisher of The American Political Report, is author of "The Politics of Rich and Poor." He contributed this nment to The New York Times.

Recalling a Betrayal, Over Lunch

هكنامنالأجل

WASHINGTON — Diplomatic stories were always hard for me to write. It was the tales of individual people, in their struggles to survive and triumph, that mesmerized me. And so to remember the fall of Saigon the way I wanted to, and needed to, I called my friend Bich for lunch.

We met at a restaurant in Washington's Chinatown. He is older, grayer. Though he is a friend, I had never heard the story of how he got out. After Szigon fell 17 years ago, I had reeled off into my own world — did other things, wrote other stories, buried those feelings some-

For years, I could never write about it, scarcely think about it. People in the office would ask me the meaning of this and that, in a global political sense, and I would draw a blank. What were they talking about? What had happened was of biblical proportions — a vast betrayal, suffering on an unimaginable scale.

Nguyen Ngoc Bich, now 54, was chief of overseas information for the Nguyen Van Thieu regime before the North Vietnamese Army rolled into town on April 30, 1975. He is a small, passionate man of immense charm and warmth an honest person, a writer and intellectual who was always more comfortable. sensed, closeted in his study with his beloved translations of Vietnamese poetry than on the front lines of world politics. But he did his duty.

Now he appears in his business suit after a grueling morning at the U.S. De-partment of Education, where he is deputy director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs.

He wears his customary wonderful smile, and it takes me a moment to recall that this quite ordinary-looking man is a member of the extraordinary Nguyen Ngoc family, whose saga stretches from the crumbling Oriental splendor of pre-World War II French Indochina, to SaiBy Phil McCombs

gon's smoky-hot sprawl during the years of the American war, to the suburbs of modern Washington and other U.S. cities where part of the vast Vietnamese diaspora - thought to number 850,000

in the United States alone - has settled. His older brother Linh, a hard-nosed ment went wide and deep. businessman and wisecracking character if ever there was one, ran a chain of fastfood restaurants in Texas. Another brother, Phach, is still in Anstralia, where he went after the North Vietnamese victory,

MEANWHILE

too horrified at America's abandonment of Vietnam ever to live here. Linh writes in a letter that their mother, now 91, is "still going strong" and has

nearly 100 direct descendants, most of them in this country."

He adds: "Our family is spread all over the country, from the D.C. area to Connecticut, Pennsylvania, North Carolina

California. The second generation has been holding its own, but the third is doing very well and the fourth — American-born — is absolutely smashing, smart, good-looking and full of promise.
"Some of our third generation have married Americans, and although all of

us — with the exception of the matriarch have mainstreamed quite successfully, we still keep that 'something Vietnamese' which makes for a very interesting blend within the American melting pot

It is a bright, cool day, and Bich orders us a nice lunch. I look at him, the gray in his hair, his cheeks filled out. It's hard to imagine how he had grown up in that big family in a 19th-century French neoclassical palace north of Hanoi ringed with granaries, gardens, storage rooms and apartments for hundreds of servants and soldiers; how his father, a powerful Mandarin province chief had clawed his way to the top of the ruling meritocracy that the French overlords had kept intact.

When I had known him in Saigon, Bich had told me his subconscious was crowded with images of imperial majesty — his father, for example, garbed in bright cere-monial colors, seated on a royal pallet in his ornate receiving chamber, glimpsed by the child through a racked array of tridents and other ancient weapons.

Then, with the Japanese invasion of Indochina in 1940, and later the beginning of the war with the French, the family's world crumbled, and the pampered Nguyen Ngoc children came to know fear, imprisonment and starvation.

Bich remembered how the family had

sold off their Hanoi villas for a few tubes of penicillin in a futile effort to save their father from the agony of spinal

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meningitis, and how they had eaten roots they dug from among the corpses.
In the early '50s they came South and

flourished in the corrupt swirl of Sai-gon. Bich was educated at Princetoh, Linh at Bowdoin College in Maine, Phach at the London School of Economics. By the time Saigon fell, their involvement in business and govern-

And once again, it all ended. What happened? I asked Bich. What happened after I last saw you that day in your officer in Science and the same of the your office in Saigon, with the North Vietnamese Army drawing an iron ring around the city?
On April 17, he recounted, President

Thieu sent him to Washington with Gregory Nguyen Tien Hung, the minister of planning to ask for continued U.S. support — a hopeless task, since Congress had already pulled the plug on aid. Bigh remembered how they landed at Dulles Airport and were met by Pham Duong Hien, director of the Vietnamese information office in Washington.

And he remembered how the two men got into a terrible shouting match in the airport lobby, with bewildered travelers looking on, over whether the mission was hopeless. And how, when Bich intervened, they looked at one another and broke down weeping, falling into one another's arms.

Bich returned to Vietnam from the failed mission, told the government workers in his care they were free to leave, and fled with a flock of his family members to an island in the South China Sea.

When word came over the radio that Saigon had fallen, they set out in a small boat and were picked up by a commercial ship. It could accommodate 1,080 people, but 7,500 were taken on board. They slept in shifts, shivered or burned as the weather changed, tried to eat the gruel that was mixed crudely in bathtubs on deck, and were thankful for their salvation.

At night, Bich looked out upon what seemed a scene from hell: hundreds of small boats, lit by lanterns, overloaded with desperate refugees, making their way to the ship. When they'd climbed on board, they'd toss torches back on their little boats to burn them and keep them from falling into the hands of the Communist authorities.

There was one bizarre and almost -it seemed at the time - humorous scene: a priest in black robe, standing in the prow of a little boat pointing forward as his companions rowed, with his motor scooter by his side. And Bich remembered one baby girl who almost died of diarrhea, and who is now a college student in California.

"If I close my eyes," he said, "I can still see it all today." So can I. And for what it's worth, setting aside what scholars and geopoli-

only this: Vietnam should be free. As Bich said, "We need to return to our homeland, where we came from, and where we belong. And we will."

ticians may or may not think, I'll say

The writer covered the fall of Saigon for The Washington Post.

vided almost evenly between them, and dent, a politician who had already LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Serbs in Opposition

Regarding "Stop the Hand-Wringing, More Against Serbia" (Opinion, May 22) by William Safire, and "Listen to the Serbs" (Letters to the Editor, May 26) by Deian Mihailovic:

George Bush, about 30 percent to 45

The last time a third-party candidate

publican insider turned independent.

split off from the party controlling the White House and ran as an independent

- the erstwhile Democrat George Wal-

lace in 1968 — he helped destroy the old

New Deal Democratic coalition and cre-

ate a new Republican presidential ma-

jority. Ex-Republican Perot just might

A second big message to the White House from California is: Thanks, but

no thanks. Mr. Bush's easy win over Pat

Buchanan - with no Perot write-ins

counted and many Perotistas staying

home - was not the real California

primary. The real test took place from

April 30 and the Los Angeles riots right

up to Tuesday. California voters, already displeased with Mr. Bush over the severe

local recession, further soured on the

president for lack of leadership after the

riots. (Even many conservative Orange

County Republicans saw a need for an

affirmative approach to urban problems.)

As Mr. Bush declined in the polls, Mr. Perot rose: California Republicans di-

wind up doing something similar.

I disagree where Mr. Safire and his critic Mr. Mihailovic agree: The Serbs would not fight forever, I am one of the tens of thousands of young Serbs who fled abroad, refusing to fight a savage, aggressive war. My less lucky peers are rotting in prisons or hiding, fearing Stalinist generals' firing squads and fascist vigilantes roaming Serbia.

This war has been fought by the frightened military and by elderly Communists-turned-nationalists. They had practically no infantry and had to rely on heavy weaponry and pillaging irregulars, which explains the useless military destruction of Vukovar, Du-

brovnik and now Sarajevo. In the West, my friends and I have

national stereotypes. All Serbs are "ferocious," Communist and, in Mr. Safire's words, "not oppressed by their own dicta- arts of negotiation and compromise. tor." This probably accounts for the scant coverage of the opposition in Serbia and its coorageous peace activists. How can a

en up or lost their jobs. The other disappointments have been people like Mr. Mihailovic, Serbians having long resided in democratic countries who still approve official propagan-da myths about Serbs willingly "facing death" and who show indifference to the suffering of others.

SRDJAN PAVLOVIC. Stockholm.

The Valor of the Thais

The sight of soldiers killing and vounding unarmed men, women and children in Bangkok's streets was a painbeen disappointed by the operation of ful one. It seems even more shocking

given the sophisticated nature of Thai culture and its long, proud practice of the

The mass demonstrations of the past several months seem out of character with the tolerant Thai image. But after dictator not be oppressive? Ask the imprisoned "deserters" and opponents of Slobodan Milosevic who have been beatcorruption of a dysfunctional and unrepresentative system, they feel deep resentment, anger and shame.

Today the land of smiles is the land of anguish, of struggle. The people will not be fooled or cowed by the forces that have made them bleed. People will risk their lives for freedom. Vigilance and time will bring them their just reward.

JAKE MALONE It Still Takes Two

Regarding "Dan Quayle's Baby Mis-(May 21):

child-rearing issues took the father's role into consideration. It does take two people to bring a child into the world. If abortion is banned, we must remember that children are not only a woman's responsibility, but also the father's, as Vice President Dan Quayle stated.

ELIZABETH NICOLOSI. Catholics and Birth Control

In response to the report "Anglican Leader Challenges Vatican Stand on Birth Control (May 19):

The Catholic Church fully agrees and officially teaches that "sex is a gift from God" and "an expression of relation-ship, a gift of love." By no means does it teach that the only purpose of sexual intercourse is procreation. Indeed, the inseparable unity of love and procreation is precisely one of the main reasons Catholicism teaches that artificial birth control is not morally right. Those who defend such forms of birth control

are subscribing to a dualism that separates the acts of the spirit from those of the body. Catholicism insists on wholism. With regard to the claim that Catholic teaching is "contributing to a population explosion," one must realize that overpopulation is greatest in Asia, which has less than 3 percent Catholics, and that even in a Western "Catholic country" like Italy the problem is having too low a birthrate. In fact, the vast majority of Catholics do not heed the Church's teach-

ing in this regard. The Catholic Church recognizes the need for responsible population control. It is a very complex issue, but two points are especially noteworthy: The Catholic Church fully promotes natural family planning methods and supports development of societies to have a better standard of living (with full respect for human rights and the dignity of each person). In developed countries there is no overpopulation. BROTHER NICHOLAS J. HARDING.

GENERAL NEWS

Skulls Found in China Cast Doubt on Theory Of an 'Eve' in Africa

By Boyce Rensberger

WASHINGTON - Two ancient human skulls found recently in China are leading support to a new theory of how anatomically modern human beings evolved from earlier hominids. The theory challenges the "Eve" hypothesis that all living people are descended from one woman who lived in Africa 200 000 years 200

ca 200,000 years ago.

The skulls also may help to explain the origin of modern Asians, Africans and Europeans.

The discoveries, reported Thursday in the journal Nature, support the view that modern Chinese and other so-called Mongoloid peoples can trace their ancestry to prehisteric hyperana who had been lighted. toric humans who had been living in Asia continuously for perhaps I million years, and to interbreeding with people who migrated from

other parts of the world. Similarly, modern Africans and Europeans and their descendants worldwide may be able to trace their origins to peoples living in their homelands long before the time of the purported "Eve" but also interbreeding with immigrants from the other continents.

"Eve" is the nickname given to a hypothetical African woman who, according to one widely publicized theory, was said to be the maternal ancestor of all living humans. That interpretation was based on studies of a special kind of DNA found in the cells of all people.

Molecular biologists looked at the differences in this "mitochondrial DNA," inherited only from mothers, among a large number of people worldwide. They concluded that the differences were the result of mutations that had accumulated over about 200,000 years in a single

5 More Found Guilty In East Timor Killings

Agence France-Presse JAKARTA - Courts-martial in Bali have sentenced five more soldiers to terms of 12 to 18 months for disobedience and misconduct in the killing or more than 50 demonstrators in East Timor last November, Indonesian newspapers re-ported Thursday. Three were

on by one woman. From the current distribution of DNA differences around the world, they also concluded that Africa was the woman's home.

The Eve story supported what came to be known as the "out of Africa" hypothesis, namely that all modern people are Eve's descendants who migrated through Arabia to populate Asia and Europe, replacing a more primitive species of human, Homo erectus, that had spread from Africa perhaps I million years ago.

A long-standing predecessor of that "replacement" theory was the "regional continuity" theory. It suggested that after Homo erectus, who originated in Africa, spread into the other two continents, he continued to evolve separately in each, giving rise to the African, Asian and European peoples.

Modern anatomic and genetic studies, however, have shown that these groups are so similar that it is highly implausible that they could have been separated for as long as this theory requires. Instead, there had to have been considerable interbreeding, or "gene flow," among the three populations. The newly found Chinese skulls

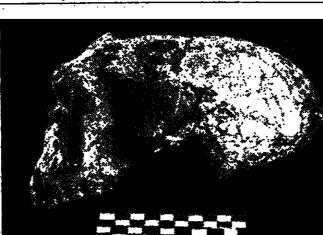
are significant because they contain a mixture of Homo erectus and Homo sapiens features in individuals who lived long before Eve. The skulls are thought to be between 350,000 and 400,000 years old. The mixture suggests that erectus evolved into sopiens in Asia.

Moreover, the skulls have the

high, forward-facing cheekbones typical of living Asians, which suggests that the Asiatic form of human began developing its distinctive features in Asia long before any Eve lived. But similarly transitional fossils

suggesting that erectus evolved gradually into sapiens with no clear dividing line have long been known from Europe and Africa. There-fore, the new finds do not suggest that Homo sapiens arose only in

The evidence suggests that no one region of the world is the exclusive area from which modern humans evolved," said Dennis A. Eiler, a paleoanthropologist at the University of California at Berkeley. Mr. Etler published the analysis of the skulls along with their discoverer, Li Tianyuan of the Hubei Institute of Archaeology in Wuhan. Mr. Li found the somewhat crushed fossils in 1989 and 1990 in Hubei Province in central China.





The skulls contain Homo erectus and Homo sapiens features. They may explain the origin of Asians, Africans and Europeans.

ASIAN TOPICS

Help for Ex-Mobsters In Toeing the Line Help is at hand for Japan

gangsters trying to knuckle down to a new life, Reuters reports from Tokyo. A surgeon is offering to rebuild with toes the fingers that gangsters ritually sever to prove their loyalty to the mob. Some gangsters, or ya-kuza, could not find honest jobs because of their deformities, according to a police spokesman in Kanagawa, an industrial sub-urb of Yokohama.

The surgeon, whose name was withheld to shield him from reprisals, said he had performed scores of finger-replacement operations, including some on gangsters. He amputates one of the penitent criminal's toes and grafts it onto the stump of the severed finger. He says that after microsurgery to connect nerves and blood vessels, the patient should regain some digital movement.

Yakuza have been going straight in increasing numbers since March, when a new law took effect that gives police and local authorities more power to fight organized crime. Japan has about 3,300 gangs

with a total membership of

90,000. They engage mostly in illegal gambling, drug trafficking, prostruction and extortion.

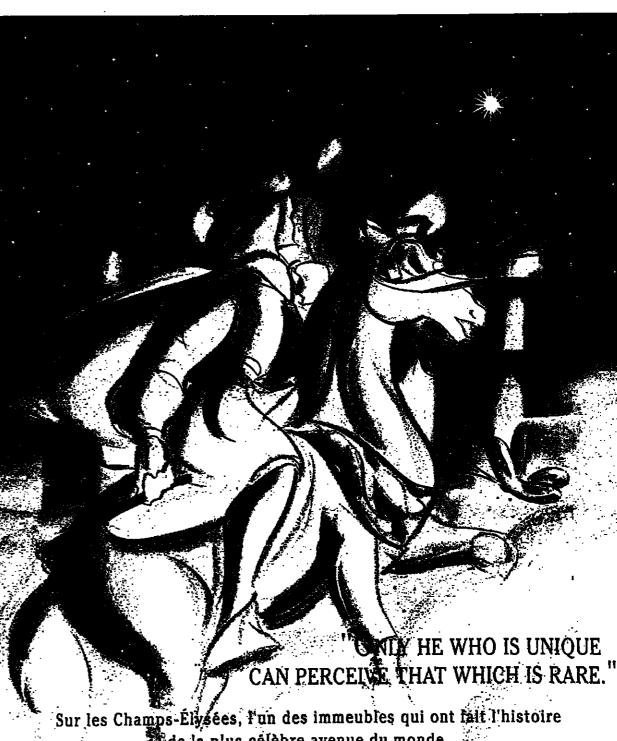
9,200 yuan? Rats! Local police in the coastal province of Zhejiang discovered that a rat with expensive tastes had taken the 100-yuan notes to line his nest. A Beijing newspaper, Renmin Gongan Bao, said that Mr. Chen's hiding place for his savings of 9,200 yuan (\$1,680) was a crevice in the brick wall of his house. The police found no signs of a break-in, but they did

find a rat's nest a few feet away

lined with cash. All the money

was recovered.

Arthur Higbee



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EC: It'll Go Ahead Anyway on Pact

 (Continued from page 1) mean the end of the country's stable currency, the Deutsche mark, and Germany's states are also demanding a greater role in Commu-

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany pressed unsuccessfully at Maastricht for greater powers for the elected European Parliament, to exercise more control over the unelected powerful executive, the EC Commission, in Brussels.

- Hostility to the EC Commission and its president, Jacques Delors, is high in Britain, where 100 members of Prime Minister John Major's Conservative Party on Wednesday supported a parliamentary motion calling for a rethinking of government policy on the treaty.

Mr. Major announced on Wednesday that the ratification process would be temporarily suspended because of the Danish deci-

The Portuguese foreign minister, João de Deus Pinheiro, said that EC business would proceed normally at the summit meeting that his government will host in Lisbon

Britain is to take over the Community's rotating presidency from Portugal in July, and Mr. Major intends then to urge quick progress

in the enlargement of the Commu-

Sweden, Anstria, and Finland have applied, Switzerland has said it would soon, and Norway is expected to make a decision this fall.

Norwegians were somewhat amused to find themselves hosting a crisis meeting of the Community before they had even decided whether to join.

Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary also want to become members, around the end of the decade or earlier if possible.

-CRAIG'R. WHITNEY

Despite Oxford Protest, A College to Admit Men

The Associated Press OXFORD, England — Somer-ville College said Thursday that it

would admit men in 1995 after the university chancellor overruled stu-The decision would leave St. Hil-

da's as the last women-only college among the 26 at Oxford. In a ballot, more than 86 percent of the 336 undergraduate and 86 graduate students at the college, which was founded in 1879, voted to fight the



Foreign Ministers João de Deus Pinheiro of Portugal, left, and Uffe Ellemann-Jensen of Denmark, conferring prior to the emergency session Thursday in Oslo on the treaty on European union.

NATO: Alliance Offers New Peacekeeping Support

(Continued from page 1) called on all states to provide hu-

manitarian assistance. Mr. Eagleburger, who attended the NATO session because Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d was attending his 40th reunion at Princeton, repeated the tone and substance of remarks that Mr. Baker had made about the situation in the Balkans at a meeting in Lisbon

NATO, he said, "must now become effective in helping resolve peacefully the different but multiple conflicts which threaten European stability in the post-Cold War era." He said the alliance should provide military assets for peacekeeping operations that might military intervened we must fight eventually be decided on by the security conference.

"Let me make clear in this respect that the United States is prepared to make essential contributions, such as lift and logistics, to peacekeeping operations," he said.

The United Nations and the Western European Union, the milinity's efforts to build a European cover it was wrong and he was defense network, could also provide resources for such missions, as could former Soviet countries.

We had the impression that the American side strongly supported

Kinkel, who met with Mr. Eagleburger in Bonn earlier this week. "He told me that he thought

American public opinion would be unlikely to support the sending of U.S. ground troops to Yugoslavia."

action, but that practically that is still hardly thinkable," said the plan to meet Friday with representatives of the former Soviet states Thursday, they urged Russis and the Baltic states to complete an agreement quickly on the status of former Soviet forces on Baltic terri-

BELGRADE: The Stress of War

(Continued from page 1) overthrow" of the Yugoslav gov-

The commanding general of the air force said that if the American to the last man."

President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia — whom the West has singled out as chiefly responsible for provoking factional war amid the ruins of the old six-republic Yugoslav federation - proclaimed that UN trade sanctions aimed primarily at his regime would not last long tary arm of the European Commu- and that the world would soon dis-

> In the meantime, gasoline and cigarette prices here doubled, hyperinflation clicked away at 3 per-cent a day, Yugoslav assets abroad were seized, the highly regarded Yugoslav soccer team was booted out of Sweden, Belgrade airport was shut down and hundreds of cargo-laden Yugoslav trucks bound for foreign cities were turned back at the Hungarian bor-

Perhaps most painfully for tradi-tionally proud and defiant people, the 10.5 million citizens are being forced to think that the rest of the world may be right.

"Our most damaging problem is not wanting to think," said Dr. Ra-kic, the child psychiatrist. "We are so overwhelmed with information that is not true or is too terrible to imagine. We would rather not think about it."

Here in Belgrade, which has been untouched by a year of savage violence that has flattened scores of other cities in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the pariah stams is revealing deep social divisions.

The split runs between young and old, between young professionals worried about the future and pensioners obsessed with the past, between those who feel guilty about recent Serb atrocities in Bosstill aggrieved by wrongs commit-ted against Serbs over the last five

Evidence of the split is everywhere. Most of those who voted in parliamentary elections here last weekend had gray hair. They called themselves patriots and "proud Serbs" and said they gave no credence to foreign and opposition charges that the election was rigged to legitimize Mr. Milosevic's pow-

An election boycott drew support mostly from the young, and it was the young — nearly 50,000 of them — who turned out in Belgrade on Sunday for a demonstration that demanded Mr. Milosevic

Whatever the world is doing to us, we deserve it," said Vlada Obric, 24, a graduate student in engineering at Belgrade University.
Serbian society is in the grip of a "mass hypnosis" created by the Milosevic-controlled state media, said Mr. Obric, who added that he was "nauseated" by a nation that is capable of justifying to itself the indiscriminate shelling of civilian populations by Serb militia forces. Mr. Obric said blood would have

to be spilled in Belgrade to overthrow Mr. Milosevic and that the Serbian leader's fall would come the moment students stormed the television station and deprive him

of his "only salvation." Milan Trikic, 66, a pensioner, has figured out the whys and wher-efores of the UN sanctions through the lessons of Serbian history. Germany, Hungary and Austria were Serbia's enemies in World Wars I and II, and now they champion the anctions, he said.

The new order in the world these days is being created by the powerful nations, just as it has always been. Germany is working with the United States. Russia is no longer strong."
Echoing the same analysis of the

sanctions that is carried by Belgrade television, Mr. Trikic said that the United States and Germa-ny were determined to overthrow ny were determined to ordered Mr. Milosevic and "bring obedient leadership here."
"This," he declared, "is a test of

what is soon going to happen in



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A EUROPEAN POWER IN WORLDWIDE BANKING

nia and Croatia and those who are

dale, which was one turn in the downward spiral of the Democratic Party. The issue is how do they realign to get back on the ascent, or are we witnessing the start of a third party movement? I don't think we have the answer to that."

Eight years ago, Lee Atwater, then a rising Republican strategist, calculated that any candidate with severely wounded, and if public aversion to a candidate broke 40 contest. percent, the wound was virtually certain to be fatal.

In this election, as politics and politicians have fallen to new lows on public barometers, Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton are viewed negatively by 40 percent or more of the voters in their own parties in California, and by overwhelming ma-

jorities in the opposition party. Mr. Perot, in turn, is not in much better shape, viewed negatively by more than 45 percent of California Democrats who voted on Tuesday and by nearly 35 percent of Cali-fornia Republican voters.

Mr. Perot changes many basic fornia at Irvine.

VOTERS: U.S. Politics in Chaos assumptions and calculations in

Take, for example, state-by-state predictions of probable winners. In two-person, two-party contest, Mr. Bush would be considered likely to carry Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi, the poll-taker Harrison Hickman noted. With Mr. Perot in the race, Mr. Clinton's strong base of support among black and Hispanic voters gives

ning a plurality in the three-way Conversely, the opposite is true in such Democratic-leaning states as Massachusetts, Maryland and Pennsylvania, where Mr. Perot would likely split the anti-Bush vote giving the incumbent presi-dent a better shot in these mid-

Atlantic and Northeast states. One of the victims of the 1992 election, according to a number of analysts, is the trend that appeared to be favoring the emergence of a steadily growing Republican Party. The rise in Republican identification seems to have bit the dust," said Martin Wattenberg, a political scientist at the University of Cali-

SLAVES: India Business as Usual

(Continued from page 1)

generations. My father was bonded labor and also my grandfather. I worked on a rice field in Channaurdiha village." That is in Madhya Pradesh in central India.

"I was never paid any wages," he added. "I was just given some food. I was released three months ago by the Supreme Court."

But freedom alone is not enough for men like Mr. Kandoi. "We realized that here was a problem of looking after these people, otherwise they would go back to being bonded laborers, Mr. Satyarthi said. "We found out that government officials were absolutely reluctant to help bonded laborers.

Retreat, where he works with former bonded laborers. "People who are bonded laborers are mental slaves," he said. "It is hard for them to mix in society. They feel themselves very inferior. They feel the burden of being casteless. They have no way of earning a living. They have no idea what to do with money. And they are afraid of everyone. If you ask them what

their conditions are, they say, 'Oh, everything is good.'
"But this is because of a sense of having done something wrong in a previous birth. In their whole lifetime, they have never come across anyone who actively helped them. No one. So building up trust with them is a serious problem.

With money from private donors, he bought a small piece of land on the outskirts of Ibrahimpur. He hired a tailor, carpenter, weaver, iron worker and mason to teach trades to the laborers, a counselor to help with their adjustment problems and a cook to feed them.

He has 100 people around India working full time to free laborers from servitude, mostly by trying to get court orders enforced. And every three months, his colleagues

send 50 to 60 laborers to Mukti

Ashram for training. Despite the efforts of his ashram. and the injunctions of the law, the ranks of bonded laborers continue to grow, Mr. Satvarthi said. "We have liberated about 5,000 children in the last 10 years. But in the last 10 years, about 100,000 children

have come into the industry."

OIL:

Saudi Ultimatum (Continued from page 1)

tween the two countries has revived So last year he formed what he bitter animosities that have their calls Mukti Ashram, or Liberation roots in tribal and territorial disputes going back to the early '30s. The two countries then fought a border war, and tribes led by Prince Faisal, who later became king, took over Assir Province, which some Yemenis still claim.

With a population of about 13. million, as compared to Saudi Ara-bia's much wealthier 8 million to 10 million, Yemen could, if its economic situation ever improved, be-come a challenger to the Sandi dominance of the Arabian Penin-

Before the Gulf crisis, Yemen joined Iraq, Jordan and Egypt in forming the Arab Cooperation. Council, a regional alliance that was created to balance, and in the Saudi view encircle, the Gulf Coopcration Council. The latter group is headed by the Saudis in alliance with Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates. Qatar, Bahrain and

Several of the oil companies involved swiftly responded by freezing or ending their activities in Yemen, although at least one company, Hunt Oil Co. of the United States, appears to have politely rejected the Sandi warning.

Sweden. Vows Ful And End By Leeph File? PARIS — Forman

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Russia Mo Easy Bore By Michael Dobbs

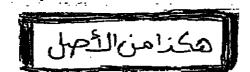
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Vaclay Klaus, head of the Civic Democratic Union, got scant attention from two Prague residents waiting Thursday for a bus.

80 Parties Vie for Czechoslovaks' Votes

By William E. Schmidt New York Times Service

BRNO. Czechoslovakia - The rally was supposed to be a rousing send-off for candidates running on the Civic Movement ticket, the political party that is direct heir of the popular front that forced Czechoslovakia's Commi government to give up power in 1989.

But fewer than 300 people were huddled under umbrellas in a rain-soaked square in this city, at the very center of the country, watching and listening while the party's speakers cajoled passers-by to choose them when they go the polls on Friday and Saturday, in Czechoslovakia's second free parliamentary election since the so-called Velvet Revolution.

Barely three years ago, the Civic Forum, as the democratic front was then called, used to draw hundreds of thousands of people to rallies demanding free elections and the end of Communist rule, and its candidates won more than half the votes in the first parliamentary ballot in

But public opinion polls suggest that the Civic Movement, as the front is now called, will be fortunate to get more than 7 percent of the vote this time, drowned out by a growing babble of ambitious new voices and new special Both the Civic Forum and its Slovak counter

part, People Against Violence, have splintered since 1990 into myriad parties whose pleas have not just exhausted and bewildered many voters, but virtually assured Czechoslovakia of parlia-

With dozens of parties and hundreds of candidates crowding ballots for the federal legislature, as well as the separate Czech and Slovak republic legislatures, some Czechoslovak voters are wondering if there can be such a thing as too

much democracy. At last count, there are more than 80 parties competing for the ballot in the Czech republic and neighboring Slovakia.

Among other causes, they have assembled to advocate the interests of Communists and former Communists, gypsies and beer drinkers, Slovak nationalists and pro-Europe democrats, monetarists and mothers.

Under Czechoslovak law, any party that fails to get at least 5 percent of the vote will be cut off from legislature seats.

Still, it is possible it will take weeks of negotiations, once the votes are counted this weekend, to assemble the governing coalition.

Matisek Gustav, an adviser to the Civic Democratic Union in Slovakia, the party that emerged as the political arm of People Against Violence, said he was disappointed by the fragmentation but not surprised.

In the 1990 elections, candidates for People Against Violence won a third of the vote in

Polls suggest that the Civic Democratic Union, the new name the front adopted only a few months ago, may not even win enough votes

In Slovakia, People Against Violence has begot two more separate Christian Democratic, parties and the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, which has settled on the more prosperous

Czech republic as its enemy. The Movement is running far ahead in public opinion polls, and in emotional campaign speeches, Vladimir Meciar, a former Comminist and one of the main Movement proponents, has east the election as a kind of referen-

dum on whether Slovakia ought to dissolve or

loosen its federal ties to Prague, and go its own In the Czech republic, where the economy is far more buoyant and political sympathies much more tilted toward the West, the old Civic-Forum has spun off parties and political leaders more inclined toward economic reform and a

strong anti-Communism. The most powerful by far is Vaclav Klaus, an unyielding advocate of economic reform who, like Mr. Meciar, has a vast following, particularly among young people, who are drawn by his forceful, even imperious, style.

While most rallies attract, at most, a few. hundred faithful, Mr. Klaus drew more than 6,000 to a stadium outside Bratislava on Tues

Party of the Democratic Left, which is made upof former Communists and running second in Slovakia polls, said voters were confused, and as a result were often drawn to the most forceful-

We all know what is going to

happen in Europe. And we know it has

started. But for the time being, the

complexities of getting international

package and freight shipments across its

borders remain.

Sweden, Its Eye on EC, **Vows Full Security Role** And End to Neutrality

By Joseph Fitchett International Revald Tribute

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PARIS - Formally pledging full security cooperation if Sweden is admitted to the European Comminity, Defense Minister Anders Bjorck said Thursday that his country's neutrality amounted to stone tablets that have now been broken" beyond repair.

Spelling out a new Swedish approach more compatible with other West European countries' views, Mr. Bjorck said that Sweden would gradually expand its military involvement with its Western neighbors in step with closer economic

Swedish political leaders generally, and not just his own conservative government, have reached a consensus on abandoning the country's traditional neutrality as the price of membership in the Community, Mr. Bjorck said,

But the process will be gradual. Sweden plans to increase its military spending — bucking the trend toward shrinking budgets else-where — so that it can modernize its own defenses, safeguard its de-fense industries and thus continue to stay out of military alliances such as NATO. The nation has an armed force of about 65,000 and

Mr. Bjorck said that Sweden planned to "remain neutral in the event of war in our vicinity," but nonetheless expected to move steadily closer through the 1990s toward full participation in European defense activities.

Addressing the Western European Union, he emphasized that Sweden was ready to accept all the obligations in the EC blueprint set by the Maastricht summit meeting and just rejected by Danish vot-

He made it plain, for example, that EC membership for Sweden which could come as early as 1995 - would immediately prompt Stockholm to seek a full role in the Western European Union, the defense body responsible for EC mili-

Like neutral Ireland, Denmark unofficially declined, even before the referendum outcome, to take the step after Maastricht of adhering to the Western European

Suggesting that Danes may have become indifferent to security issues now that the Cold War is over, Mr. Bjorck said that the Swedish nitment was to an "ideological" vision of Europe as a fullfledged world power, not to a mercantilist concept of a European free-trade zone.

Urging EC governments to stick to the 1995 timetable for Swedish entry, Mr. Bjorck said that in Sweden "yes-sayers will be mobilized," including the strongly pro-EC busi-ness and political elites, before a 1994 referendum on the question. Sweden was ready, he said, to help Europe develop enough mili-

Yugoslavia, on its own. But, he said, his government hoped EC military cooperation "will not develop in a way that will undernime the role played by the United States in our part of the world," because Sweden still faced

peared in Swedish waters for the first time in months, after speculation that such activity had ceased permanently.

Stockholm's concern to avoid alarming Moscow is evident in Swedish reluctance to give military aid to the Baltic republics, where Russian forces remain, or to explore links with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The government set up an independent panel last week to investigate allegations of extensive covert Swedish cooperation with NATO during the Cold War.

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Russia Moves to Curb Easy Border Crossings

By Michael Dobbs

MOSCOW - In a new setback to hopes for creating a free trade zone on the ruins of the former 15republic Soviet Union, Russia annonnced Thursday that it would introduce formal border controls with five neighbors, including

President Boris N. Yeltsin said at a cabinet meeting that Russia would establish its own border guards, subordinate to the Ministry Security, the successor to the KGB security police.

Up to now, border controls between the former Soviet republics have been largely symbolic, despite the collapse of the Soviet Union in Apart from Ukraine, which had

been united with Russia for more than three centuries, frontiers will also be established with Azerbaijan and the Baltic states of Lithnania, Latvia and Estonia.

Tass said that customs points would be set up on the border with Georgia. There are no immediate plans for a formal frontier with the Muslim republics of Central Asia In recent speeches, Mr. Yeltsin complained about the "permeability" of the frontiers of the 11-mem-ber Commonwealth of Indepen-

dent States and the relaxation of It has become a comparatively simple matter for foreigners to enter Ukraine, the Baltic states or Azerbaijan without a visa and then go on to travel freely around Rus-

The announcement on the creation of a Russian state frontier coincided with a toughening in Moscow's stand on military negotiations with other republics. Over the last few days, the new Russian

has warned several republics not to 'provoke" Russian troops stationed on their territory. Tass quoted Mr. Grachev as say

ing that his troops were coming three Baltic states and the western republic of Moldova and had been

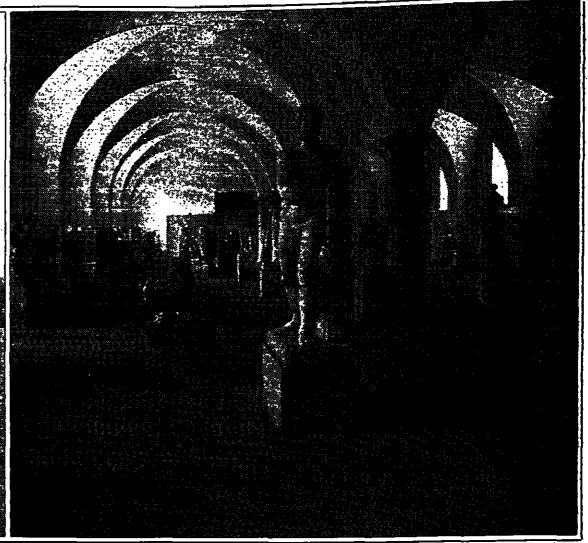
Mr. Grachev said that the 14th Russian Army, which is stationed in Moldova, might abandon its neutrality in the conflict between the Moldovan authorities and Russian-speaking secessionists.

In a message to the Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis mblished in Moscow on Thursday Mr. Grachev said that "all possible means" would be used to guarantee the "honor and interests" of Russian soldiers stationed in the repub

All three Baltic republics are now accusing Moscow of dragging its feet on negotiations on the pul back of 130,000 troops from the region. Russian leaders want to delay the withdrawal of the troops until at least 1994 because of the lack of housing in Russia.

"The Baltic states do not under stand that we cannot simply pull out our servicemen and put them in tents," General Dmitri Volkogonov, a senior military adviser to Mr. Yeltsin, said in an interview this week. This goes beyond our possibilities. We call on Baitic leaders to show some common sense."

According to General Volko-gonov, 195,000 officers are already without housing in Russia. He and other military leaders have expressed fears that a hasty withdrawal from the Baltic states could lead to an explosion of discontent within the military, endangering the course of reform.



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FRANCE

By Marc Fisher Washington Post Service

RESDEN, Germany — This city of open wounds is a victim of history, where firebombing and dictatorship conspired against centuries of spectacular achievement to produce a heartbreaking landscape. Dresden is crawling out of the fog of 40 years of communism, aching to show off its stunning Baroque palaces, its Green Vault of royal jewels, its breathtaking Semper Opera

Street names are changing: The Street of Liberation is now Main Street. New stores and cafés open almost daily. The cupolas of palaces still guited and charred by World War II bombs now boast copper hats that sparkle in the spring sun.

Alas, Dresden is also a city of only a handful of hotels, a smattering of restaurants and a tourism infrastructure that was barely sufficient for East bloc travelers, and is downright daunting to the waves of Western visitors now exploring central and eastern

Europe.
Luckily, however, the Elbe River flows through the center of Dresden, where four long, white ships have laid anchor to serve as temporary hotels, a bit of the West in the East. Complete with Western managers, menus and methods, the ships are designed to bridge the gap between tourists' expectalife in formerly East bloc cities.

These cities needed only a few hotels under communism -- rooms enough to house visiting party dignitaries and the occasional Western business delegation. Tourists who could afford anything more than a room in someone's apartment were rare. And despite the city's desire to lure tourists, construction is not likely to begin soon on the nearly 30 hotels planned for Dresden.

With millions of claims on Eastern German property already filed by Western Germans, Jews and others who saw their land and buildings nationalized by the Nazi and Communist governments, hotel companies are loath to break ground until the legal situation sorts itself out. And the few hotels that do exist are often filled by the cellularphone crowd, the Western business people working on new investments here.

That leaves the boats. They, too, have their share of the Germans, Italians and French who carry a briefcase in one hand and their cellular in the other - about 80

percent of the guests on the Köln-Dusseldorfer Line's Elbresidenz, for example, are

But tourist traffic is rising, and the ship is an easy, if artificial, way of seeing Dresden without experiencing the hardships of life under socialism. It's also terrifically located, within easy walking distance of the palaces

I've stayed in private homes in Dresden, in the fancy hotels the Communists built for party functionaries and aboard the Elbresidenz, and the ship is by far the most comfortable of the three.

The rooms are small, but they are wellsigned, reasonably attractive and quiet. The food on board is nothing special, but in part of Germany where finding anything but bratwurst or pork cutlets on restaurant menus is a cause for celebration, the ship fare is a relief.

Still, there is something discomfiting about sitting on the Elbresidenz deck, staring across the water at the same skyline that appears in masterworks by Canaletto and Bellotto. Dresden is an unusually good walking town for a city redesigned by Commu-nists who favored boulevards perfect for military parades. And a long walk around the historic downtown and over to the upand-coming Neustadt section provides contrast stark enough to make ship life seem somehow a bit too cushy.

Dresden's downtown shops and attractions are being renovated with remarkable speed, but just a few blocks away, the city remains deeply scarred. Everywhere there is evidence of the war and the failed system

The central square, where the once-magnificent Church of Our Lady is a 100-foot-high (30-meter) pile of rubble, is still a starthing and moving remembrance of the 1945 firebombing. Apartment-building facades are pocked by pollution damage and crumbling from neglect. The brown coal that the locals shovel into tile stoves to heat their homes deposits a thin layer of grit along all the streets and sidewalks.

UT even here, the new life is evident. Along the Luisenstrasse, small signs point the way into apartment-house courtyards, to-ward basement cafés and art galleries where Dresden's young people debate the attri-butes of socialism and capitalism.

The Planned Economy, tucked away in a rear courtyard of a residential building, is a typical Neustadt café. The menu offers dozens of teas, as well as the usual Eastern German selection of canned salads and sausages. But there is a spirit about the crowd here, people who have helped create a homey

feeling in an environment of gray and grit. Dresden is a place you go to see ruins and riches, all of them relics of historic extremes, the lavish excess of the Saxon electors and princes, the rage of the British and American strategists who sent bombers to destroy the morale of German citizens in the final months of World War II.

But the most striking thing about Dresden is its attempt to create some kind of normalcy, to hold its own against the latest invader, the Western Germans bent on remaking Eastern Germany in their own image. The Western German chain stores are here, unstoppable and for the most part welcome.

Unfortunately, the Western arrogance is also here, in the form of Western managers who mistrust Eastern talents and instead insist on importing their top staff from the

Some Easterners are fighting a rear-guard action, hoping to retain some of the openness and informality that had developed in their long years of isolation, and cafes such as the Planned Economy are good windows onto that renegade effort.

So are the galleries, which bill themselves as alternatives to the capitalist vision. Nestler Design (Loschwitzer Strasse 58), for example, offers unusual objects designed for customers fed up with the "throwaway society."

Dresden's cultural offerings are still strugsplendid opera house, completely rebuilt in one of the Communist government's most extravagant and best renovations, is a wonder to see, but tickets are extremely difficult to come by. A contemporary music festival will take place Oct. 1-11. And the sunning Zwinger Gallery, the city's Baroque jewel, will reopen in late November after a thorough renovation.

When the sun shines and the pollution eases, Dresden and the Elbe still retain the power to transport a visitor to the distant past. The "White Fleet," the collection of paddle steamboats that the city claims is the world's largest, make journeys from Dresden up into the mountains of the Saxon Switzerland and on to Czechoslovakia or downstream to the porcelain capital of Meissen.

Bangkok, the New Left Bank

By Andrew Ranard

ANGKOK - Christopher Moore chooses the place, a coffee shop in the Landmark Hotel & Plaza, one of Bangkok's glittering palaces of prosperity on the traffic-choked Sukhumvit Road. The coffee shop bears the environmentally prescient name the Greenhouse, but outside Bangkok's air is a poisonous miasma of exhaust fumes. Boom and bust, glut and poverty, everywhere in Bangkok. Upstairs in the Landmark's Atrium a lav-

ish feast is laid out for the remarkable price of \$12. Around the corner from the plaza is Soi Nana, one of Bangkok's gaudy islands of blaring go-go bars, massage parlors and cheap guesthouses for Westerners passing

through on a shoestring.

Almost everywhere in the City of Angels, as Bangkok is known, there are foreigners: Japanese businessmen (and yakuza) living in mansions with servants; Africans dealing gems; holidaying Singaporeans and Arabs; Indian merchants, and American backpackers searching for a flash of Oriental enlight-

This is the world that Christopher Moore and another expatriate novelist, Collin Piprell, have chosen as their literary chest of drawers. Moore, 42, a Canadian in Bangkok since 1988, has thus far outproduced his rival -five books in four years published by White Lotus Co. of Bangkok. The first of these books, "Enemies of Memory," was a novel, set in contemporary times, about the notori-ous Japanese 731 Unit in Manchuria during World War II that conducted medical experiments on prisoners of war. The four books that followed were about Thailand. One, "Heart Talk" (1992), is a lexicon of expressions in Thai that use the word jai, meaning "heart." The three others in Moore's mushrooming That ocuvre are novels.

The novels pack a lot of punch. In "A Killing Smile" (1991) and "A Beguiling Smile" (1992), Moore's antiheroes are expatriates - dreamers, con artists, conjurers, op-portunists, addled mystics and dead-end failures. In "Spirit House" (1992), a departure, his protagonist is a pistol-packing, Brooklyn-born private eye, cashiered from the N.Y.P.D., now based in Bangkok, who leaves dead bodies in his wake as he follows a drug samppling, stock-market trail through the subsois, the back alleys, of Bangkok's slums and sex warrens. All Moore's characters are similar in one sense: They are romantics, grasping at second straws. Why, I ask Moore, does Southeast Asia attract such types?

OORE, a tall, lanky, darkhaired man in jeans, has a wisp of the Ivy League chronicling the wild side. He answers, with what you could call a "killing smile": "May-be a definition of a romantic is someone who thinks it possible to reshape or reform your life. Romantics are attached to tolerant cultures. . . . One thing about Thailand is that it is an extremely free place to work, probably the most tolerant in the region."

Thus far, Moore's reputation has reached only as far as Japan. But he's irrepressible. He continues with that "killing smile":
"Whatever the 21st century holds, it's going to come out of these kinds of places - these megacities like Bangkok, L. A., Tokyo, Mexico City. The greatest thing about Thailand, about Bangkok, is here is a city of 10 million, and nobody has done anything on it. From the writer's point of view, it hasn't been written about, like New York City. It was interesting to find a whole new set of metaphors that you could tap into."

In Bangkok there's a circle of about "two dozen people who turn up at parties," he says

"very productive people" — like Piprell;
the nonfiction writers William Warren and Steve Van Beck; David Butler, the author of "The Fall of Saigon," and Bertil Limmer, a Burms expert who is working on a MacArthur Foundation research and writing grant.

"In Bangkok there's an interplay between foreign residents and visitors and the Thai community," Moore says. And who turns up from abroad? Oliver Stone, maybe, or Gore Vidal, he says. "Bangkok's the kind of place where you go to dinner, and at the table you've got a Thai architect with the ambassador from Portugal, Spain or Canada, with someone who is a well-known foreign correspondent who has spent some time in jail in China under the Red Guard, along with

people involved in the jewel business. This is rich material for writers. Moore's work doesn't flinch from cultural detail or complex social analysis. He takes chances, lots of them: His descriptions of bar life in "A Killing Smile" are raw and unsettling. A major question is whether the depth in his material — and his naked lunch realities can appeal to English readers abroad. Moore



published one novel in the United States before coming to Thailand ("His Lordship's Arsenal") and has written screenplays for Canadian and Japanese television. A U.S. agent is now pushing his work in America, and Moore is working up script ideas.
Piprell is also Canadian and looking to

break out. He is the author of a book of loosely linked short stories, "Bangkok Knights" (1989), and a novel, "Kicking Dogs" (1991), both published by D.K. Printing in Bangkok. He has the wandering expatriate's hired-gun résumé: Canadian infantry officer cadet; politics and philosophy, Oxford; English teacher, Kuwait; miner, Ontario and Quebec; lecturer, Thammasat University, Bangkok; free-lance journalist with some 150 articles to his credit. Currently he is an editor at Bangkok Airways' flight mag-azine and "Phuket Magazine."

Piprell's angle, like Moore's, is Thailand's acid extremes, with a lot of tongue-in-cheek humor. "Bangkok Knights" is filled with crazy adventurers: an American writer who runs a guesthouse and collects notes for the Great Expatriate Novel; a British traffic engineer working in Kuwait who turns up in Bangkok with a computer-compiled list of prospective Thai brides; oil riggers, and those "Siddhartha Joneses" and "Smiths" in search of enlightenment.

"Kicking Dogs" takes its title from the habit of the nonconfrontational Thai to vent their anger against authority on convenient substitutes, often stray dogs. The novel is more serious than "Bangkok Knights" — but comic — and is a mystery novel cloaked in a sociological tour of Thai society.

I met Piprell one evening at the Foreign Correspondents' Club, where a panel of angry young Thai artists showed slides of their work. The current boom in Thailand covers many spheres. The work of these artists --

HEAR' THIS

■ New bad things we hadn't thought of: Teen-Age Mutant Ninja Turtles are not only extremely annoying but also an actual threat to the nutritional habits of real turtles. Yes! According to The New York Times, turtle lovers, in the form here of the New York Turtle and Tortoise Society, say that the Mutants have spawned a craze among young turtle buyers for red-eared slider turtles, and the kids are feeding them pizza. This is not a good idea, according to Allen Salzberg, a perfectly normal

person who owns 20 turtles.

abstract and expressionist --- was up-to-date. They used the image of the Buddhist wat as a metaphor for dissent, much as Western modemists have used the image of the cross and crucifizion. Poverty, corrupt politicians, prostitution, drugs and environmental abuse were the focus of their rage. Piprell, a bespectacled man with a two-

day beard, was coming off a four-day bout of the "guts." Our interview collapsed into conversation. Later, Piprell answered this question by mail: As a writer, what attracts you "Bangkok appeals to me partly because of

its messy, chaotic, colorful nature — the antithesis of Kuwait," he answered. "Beyond that, Bangkok, the rest of Thailand, and all of Southeast Asia are in the process of undergoing radical economic and social changes, which also makes them an appropriate place for a writer to be."

ARREN is the dean of expatriate writers, and his nonfiction book, "Jim Thompson: The Legendary American of Theiland" (1970), is about the godfather of the farang romantics. The tale is one of resounding success, and an inexplicable disappearance. Jim Thompson, an American OSS agent who landed in Thailand at the end of World War II, severed his upper-class ties to Wilmington, Delaware, and New York City, divorced and then founded the Thai Silk Co., which subsequently spawned a national empire of smaller industries. But in 1967, on a trip to Malaysia's Cameron Highlands, Thompson vanished in the jungle, Terminat ed by the CIA? Embroiled in Thai politics? Murdered by aborigines, or was it a hiking accident? Or did Thompson, the unromantic, engineer the caper himself, to start over

again elsewhere, this time anonymously? Warren sits on his porch in a house filled with antiques, somewhat like Iim Thomp-son's. He has a 5 o'clock cocktail in hand. He talks of the loose ends in the Thompson case and the machinations of Thai politics, which he has observed for some 30 years. His book on Thompson, originally published by Houghton Mifflin and now by the Thai Silk Co., has sold more than 25,000 copies locally to tourists passing through — and his recent coffee table books, "Thai Style" (1989) and "The Tropical Garden" (1991), both pub-

lished abroad, are doing very well. Asia's little tigers are pacing the cage. This year it's Bangkok, but it might be Vladivos-tok tomorrow, or Ho Chi Minh City in 10 years. For Warren, it's a good life. He must dress for a dinner party.

Andrew Ranard, a Tokyo-based writer, has



Anne Jackson, Tom Selleck and Don Ameche are featured in "Folks," left; a scene from "Nanmin Road."

Directed by Ted Kotcheff, U.S. Tom Selleck gets hurt a lot in "Folks," possibly more than might have been intended. Among the many painful pratfalls this actor must endure in the role of Jon Aldrich, a Chicago stockbroker suddenly trying to cope with his aging parents, is one bad fall that costs him a toe and a testicle. It's not easy to fathorn how Selleck, or any other actor, could have read this far in Robert Klane's screenplay and still decided to go full steam ahead. "Folks" is a comedy about something even less funny than the lost-testicle misadventure. It addresses the lighter side of Alzheimer's disease, with Don Ameche playing Jon's dazed, forgetful father as if he were a wonderful figure of fun. A more mean-spiritedly funny actor might have carried this material better, but Selleck strives for the cuddly rather than the caustic. Ameche, mugging furiously, affects a jaw-jutting blank look and even props his chin on Selleck's shoulder occasionally

for quasi-comic effect. The film's only effective performer is Christine Ebersole, playing Jon's grasping sister with verve. (Janet Maslin, NYT)

Nanmin Road Directed by Sho Igarashi. Ja-

Nammin means refugee and this film is about Vietnamese refugees who come to Japan to find a better life. Those in this picture don't - ruined dreams, broken hearts, and one of them ends up dead. It is all very sad and I wanted to feel for them, but the film kept getting in the way. It is a conventional action picture in which, for easier audience comprehension, the Vietnamese are made to speak Japanese to each other, and forced to voice Japanese sentiments like, Kono kuni de gambaru (I'm going to do my very best in this country.) There is no resonance, no irony — except apparently by accident. As when a group of bar-employed Filipinas cruise by Disneyland singing in Japanese "I Guess I'll Just Go Home" (Japanese pop favorite) at the top of their lungs. If the director had wanted to learn how to make a serious film on this very subject (this very story) he should have looked at Mitsuo Yanagimachi's new "About Love: To-kyo." (Donald Richie, IHT)

Sister Act Directed by Emile Ardolino.

This is the very definition of high concept. The whole thing can be summed up in six words: "Whoopi Goldberg goes to a convent." What more do you need to know? Once you've latched onto this basic premise. everything else falls into place. It is just what you'd expect it to be, right down to the last nun joke - an innocuous, sometimes entertaining, mostly routine diversion. With heart. The Goldberg character is a nottoo-successful Reno lounge singer named Deloris, who, at

the beginning of the film, has had just about enough of the

runaround from her married

boyfriend, Vince (Harvey Kei-

works, he's also a big-time gangster, and when Deloris barges into his office to call it quits, she accidentally witnesses a murder. When she runs to the cops, they urge her to testify against her old flame in court. We can protect you until we get a trial date, they promise. We'll hide you, they say, in the last place on Earth he'd think to look for you. In San Francisco, the mother superior (Maggie Smith) of St. Katherine's isn't keen on the idea of providing shelter for "this person." But the convent is in financial trouble, and the \$10,000 donation from the police department is too sweet to resist. Not that Delons is crazy about the idea either. Goldberg underplays the jokes perfectly. She has never seemed so poised and in command in a starring role, and she's immensely likable. It helps that Emile Árdolino never allows the pace to flag, so that we barely notice when jokes bomb or the material becomes

tel). But not only is Vince the

owner of the casino where she

(Hal Hinson, WP)

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cloying.

By Jean Rafferty

The state of the s

ARIS — No one is quite sure who has christened 1992 as the European year of the garden, but it is one Euro-event Parisians are happy to celebrate. Not since the Second Empire has horticulture been so chic in France. President François Mitterfand is having the Tuileries gardens redone, Mayor Jacques Chirac planting trees on the Champs-Elysees, Culture Minister Jack Lang commissioning the redesign of the floral parterres of the Palais-Royai in 50 shades of blue.

In Paris, garden fever emanates from all points of the compass. To the east, the Parc Floral de Paris in the Bois de Vincennes has been spotlighting its impressive collection of iris (more than 600 varieties). To the west, the Bagatelle in the Bois de Boulogne becomes a bower of roses in June.

On the Right Bank, at the Louvre des Antiquaires motil Aug. 11, an exhibition titled "Les Jantins du Baron Haussmann" pays trib-ute to the vegetal virtuosity of the muchmaligned baron who transformed Paris into a "green city" at the bebest of his patron, Napoleon III. Organized around a montage of illustrations, the show provides an insight into this aspect of Haussnamn's grand design. They include the creation of winding paths and romantic vistas of the Bois de Boulogne, perfect for the promenades of the beau monde led by the emperor and his empress, and also the metamorphosis of a former royal hunting preserve into the Bois de Vincennes, destined those of more modest social standing in the working-class eastern districts.

Haussmann, who also created 24 city squares, was a prodigious planter; 420,000 trees in the Bois de Boulogne, 102,154 trees along the boulevards and quais with 8,248 benches on which to rest in their shade.

On the Left Bank, the museum of the Luxembourg Gardens last month held an exhibi-tion, "Cent Jardins à Paris et en Ile de France." Extraordinary gardens in the Paris region were illustrated in paintings, prints, maps, books, tapestries and an impressive scale model of the 17th-century château gardens of the Prince de Conti. The Luxembourg is Paris's most popular garden. As at the Bagatelle, in the Luxembourg on fine weekends promenaders can outnumber the trees.

UT crowds can be avoided by investigating some of the new bucolic venues open to the public. The Fondation des Parcs de France and the Agence des Espaces Verts has produced a guide of eight itineraries to 33 parks and gardens of the Paris region called "La Route des Jardins Extraordinaires." This month, the fifth annual "Visit a Garden in France" campaign features open days in many private gardens. A guide to the 150 most outstanding will be available at French tourist offices.

From small intimate gardens to vast parks, here are some of the constellations in the Paris area's galaxy of greenery. Except where mentioned, all are open from dawn to dusk. Jardin du Palais-Royal: This elegant, 18thcentury areaded garden is just steps from the Avenue de l'Opera, but no traffic disturbs the bird song around the rows of linden trees. Its most famous resident, Colette, compared it to living in the country. In good weather, one can dine, take tea or sip Champagne at the outdoor tables of several restaurants while admiring the new blue parterres. Open 7 A.M. to 11 P.M.

Parc de Monceau: This picturesque park is a reduced Second Empire version of the one created by Louis Carmontelle in 1778, complete with romantic "ruins." Winding paths lead to a graceful Corinthian colonarcade and Egyptian pyramid decorate the den from "As You Like It." In the summer,

Cinéma Pagode Garden: Part of the exotic experience of seeing a film in this Chineseinspired pagoda movie theater is the pocketsize Oriental garden that has iris in the spring, as well as bamboo, maples, Japanese anemones and a Gingko biloba. 57 Bis Rue de Babylone. Open afternoons.

Cité des Fleurs: In this small countrified oasis, the front gardens of the hôtels particuliers built by Second Empire marshals for their mistresses blossom with flowering iruit trees and perfumed honeysuckle. 154 Avenue de Clichy.

Cité Fleurie: Climbing roses and an apple, a cherry and a quince tree star in this island of greenery surrounded by charming cottages covered in wisteria, Virginia creeper and hon-eysuckle. The painters and sculptors who have their studios in this magic spot welcome visitors to admire both their gardens and their artworks. 65 Boulevard Arago.

Shakespeare Garden: The trick is to arrive at the right moment to see this delightful garden planted with 150 plants mentioned in Shakespeare's plays. Tucked away in a corner of the Pré-Catelan in the Bois de Boulogne, it is open only from 3 to 3:30 P.M and 4:30 to 5 P.M. Heather evokes "Macbeth," carnations and lavender, the island of "The Tempest." There's Ophelia's brook and a Forest of Ar-

Les Amis de Shakespeare perform his plays. Parc des Buttes-Chanmont: One of the city's biggest but least-known parks, Buttes-Chaumont was Haussmann's theatrical tour de force, transformed from quarries that had

become a city dump into a dramatic park with a Greek temple on a belvedere, waterfalls and grottos, grassy slopes and leafy glades. Three 19th-century chalet-restaurants offer a sylvan setting for lunch or tea. Versailles: Potager de Roy, Parc Balbi: Crowds of tourists have replaced the courtiers at Versailles, but one can visit these two enchanting neighboring gardens in relative solitude, guided by Mane-France Morel of the schools of horticulture and landscaping. The decorative 17th-century fruit and vegetable garden, designed by Jean de La Quintinie to provide the Sun King with such delicacies as

asparagus in February, strawberries in March, Comtesse Balbi was the mistress of Louis XVI's brother, Louis XVIII. Her poetic park was fashioned to give the illusion of large landscaped vistas with mini-mountain, peninsula, river, music pavilion and a grotto where she threw musical fêtes. Meeting time: 2:30 P.M. 6 Rue Hardy, Versailles, 40 francs. Closed Monday and Tuesday.

Jean Rafferty is a Paris-based journalist who specializes in design and lifestyle.



Month of Visits

Do get a guide from a French tourist office of private gardens you can visit.

Beating the Crowds Don't try to go to Bagatelle or the

Luxembourg on fine weekend days. Mornings on weekdays are best.

Dining Outdoors

Do relax at a café near the Jardin &u Palais-Royal and admire the view

from the 16th century to the present

Kansas City The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

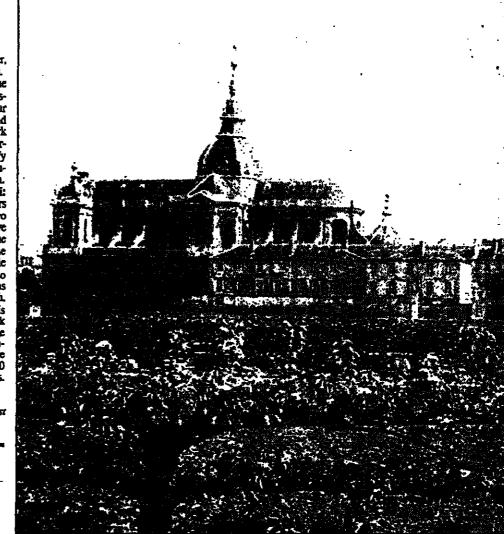
(tel: 561,4000), To June 14: "The Century of Tung Ch'l-Ch'Ang (1555-1636)," 171 paintings and call-

Los Angeles The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

(tel:459,7611). To July 5: "The Passion of Christ in Medieval and Renalssance Manuscripts." Featuring the

UNITED STATES

graphic items.



The Potager du Roy at Versailles, a decorative 17th-century fruit and vegetable garden, designed to provide Louis XIV with fresh delicacies for his table.

illuminated pages of the Prayerbook tion and Dialogues: The Figure in of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg. Photography," Works by — among Metropolitan Museum of Art (tel: others — Diane Arbus, Barbara Morsts-Tio). To July 12: "The Radinance of Jade and the Clarity of Water between 1920 and 1970.

collection." Glazed ceramics and celadons shown for the first time outside of Japan.

The Pierpont Morgan Library (tel: models, navigational instruments,

century.

ance of Jade and the Clarity of Water

Korean ceramics from the Ataka
Collection, "Glazed ceramics and ce-

capture the vitality of American life at the turn of the century.

Pasadena

THE ARTS

BRITAIN

London

Accademia Italiana (tel: 225.34.74). To June 21: "Rediscovering Pompeil." Two hundred objects excevated from the ruins of Pompeil that offer insight into daily life of the lirst century with art.

Barbican Art Gallery (tel: 638,4141). To July 19: "The Celebrated City: Treasures from the Col-lections of the Corporation of London." Eight hundred years of London's history is revealed through various art forms as well as parapher-

British Museum (tel: 323.6525). To Sept. 6: "Mexican Painted Books Before and After the Spanish Conquest." Some of the finest ancient Mexican painted books and manuscripts.

Hayward Gallery (tel: 928.8800 for advence booking). To Aug. 2: "Magritle." A major exhibition of the Works of this great surrealist attist; includes paintings, colleges, gousches, sculptures and painted bottles.

Museum of London: Photograph by Paul Baldesare.

Museum of London: Photograph by Paul Baldesare.

Museum of London (tel: in London." Contemporary photographs by the London Documentary Photographers group.

Victoria & Albert Museum (tel: 938.85.00). To July 5: "Jewels of Fantasy, Costume Jewelry of the 20th Century." Jewelry created for the couture houses of Dior, Chanel, Versace or by farnous designers such as Christian Lacrobs, Romeo Gigti or Karl Lagerleid.

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Dijon Musée des Beaux-Arts (tel: 80.74.52.70). To Aug. 10: "Portraits Sculptes du XVerne au XVIIIeme Sie-cles." A study of the evolution of Giverny

Musée Américain (tel: 32.51.94.65). To Nov. 1: "Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France 1865-1915." Ninety paintings by 40 American painters including by 40 American paulicus M.B. Prendergast, D.R. Knight, Mary

Paris Paris
Didler Imbert Fine Art (tel:
45.62.10.40). To July 24: "Henry
Moore Intime." A reconstruction of
the artist's home in Much Hacham,

the artist's home in Much recurent, England. Grand Palais (tel: 48.04.38.86 for ticket reservations). To June 8: "Toulouse-Lautrec." Severtly paintings and 100 drawings, lithographs and posters. To July 12: "The Vidings." Original artworks and objects, including church portals, tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. esmes and muminated manuscripts.
Institut Neerlandals (tel:
47.05.85.99). To July 12: "Lotti van
der Geag." Works by the Paris-based
Dutch sculptor of the Cobra move-

Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (tel: 47.23.61.27), To June 21: "SIMA (1891-1971)." Retrospective of the ligurative and abstract Czech peinter's work.

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Musee d'Orsay (tel: 40.49.48.14). To July 25: "Guirnard." The works of this Art Nouveau architect and decorator, known for his Patis Metro sta-tion entrances, among other cre-

GERMANY

Kunstgewerbemuseum (tel: 268.29.11). To Aug. & Second part of exhibition of the famous woodcuts of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Schloss Charlottenburg (tel: 32.09.11). To Aug. 16: "The Glory of the Partition" the Pantheon." Cologne

Kolnischer Kunstverein (tel: 221.37.40). To July 19: Photographs by Josef Albers (1888-1976), one-time Bauhaus student best known for

his paintings.
Kölnisches Stadtmuseum (tel: 221,23,52). To June 21: First major retrospective of native Cologne art Hubert Berke (1908-79) includes paintings and sculptures ranging from realism to abstractionism.

ITALY

Galleria degli Uffizi (tel: 21.83.41).
To July 5: "Florentine Design in the Times of Lorenzo the Magnificent." In honor of the 500th anniversary of the death of Lorenzo, one of a series of exhibits on the art history in the second haif of the 15th century. Drawings by Leonardo de Vinci. Bot-Drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, Bot-ticelli, Michetangelo and Antonio Pol-lalolo emongst others.

Museo Correr (tel. 52.06.288). To Sept. 30: Sculptures, drawings, paint-ings, clay and plaster models by neo-RIUS, CIAY AND PRESENT MODES BY REC-Classical sculptor Antonio Canova. Pelazzo Grassi (tel: 52.31.680). To July 5: "Leonardo and Venice." A display of Leonardo da Vinci's draw-

arrangements

36 Commence a

card game

39 Fashion lines

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44 U.N. system

Kyoto National Museum of Modern Art (tel: 7661.4111). To July 5: "Isemu Noguchi Retrospective 1992." 100 sculptures by the Japanese sculptor.

Osaks identitsu Museum of Arts (tel: Australia, 245.86.11). To June 28: "Treasures his films. of Islamic Art." 170 works on display, including pottery, metalwork, glass-ware and calligraphic works pro-duced in Itan, Iraq, Egypt and other Islamic countries between the 9th and 18th centuries.

and 18th centuries.

Municipal Museum of Fine Arts
(tel: 771.4874). To June 28. "Obnests in Charleson in the Charle Dynests in Chine." Mostly pottery made nesty in Chine." Mostly pottery made for the imperial Court, also lacquer-ware, glasswere and stationery.

Toleyo Mitsukoshi Museum of Art (tel: 33.54.11.11, closed Mondays). To June 21: "Art Nouveau Glass from Bohemia." 185 pieces of glassware produced between 1885 and 1916. New Otani Art Museum (tel: 3221,4111). To June 28: Exhibition of Nabeshima pottery used exclusively as gitts for feudal lords of the Edo period.

NETHERLANDS

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Van Gogh Museum (tel: 570.52.00): To June 28: Prints by Yoshitoshi, master of Uklyo-e printmeking. Includes drawings and paintings. Rijksmuseum (tel: 673.21.21). To

Rijksmuseum (tel: 673.21.21). To July 26: "Imitation and inspiration." The Japanese influence on Dutch art starting in the 17th century when the first Dutch merchants were authorized to settle in Japan. Stadelijk Museum (tel: 573.29.11). To Aug. 23: "The Great Utopla — Russian Avant-Garde 1915-1932." Includes work by Archipenko, Chagali, Kandinsky, Malevich and Tettin.

POLAND

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Spain." Objects created during the eight centuries of Arabic presence in Madrid

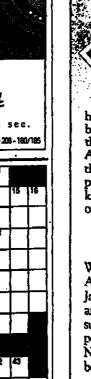
Aug. 16: "José de Ribera 1591-1562." A major retrospective of paintings and drawings by the Spanish painter who lived in Italy and was influenced by Caravaggio and Correggio.

SWITZERLAND

ne" and "Coloriess": Two compl sight and perception.

Musée de l'Elysée. (tel: 617.48.21). To Aug. 30: "Wirn Wenders, Photog-

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42 Rabbit ears 43 Poe's lost love 45 Like equine enthusiasts comedian

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Fondation Pierre Glanadda (tel: 22.39.78). To June 8: "De Goya a National Museum (tel: 21.10.31). To Aug. 9: "Polish painting in the collection of Ewa and Woltek Fibak." Paintings and watercolors by Polish and Polish-Jewish artists of the Ecole Matisse." 160 prints executed by such artists as Gauguin and Odilon Redon between 1799 and 1933. Zunich Kunsthaus (tel: 251.67.55). To Aug. 16: "Brazil in Image." Paintings illustrating cultural and artistic diversity

SPAIN

La Alhambra (tel: 22.89.36). To June 7: "Al-Andelus: Islemic Art in

Museo del Prado (tel: 420.2836). To

Museum für Gestaltung (tel: 261.30.06). To July 26: "Camoumentary art exhibitions exploring

rapher." Images from America and Austrelia, showing their influences on

OF ART



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The Pierpont Morgan Library (tel: models, navigational instruments, 685.0008). To Aug. 2: "Sketching at Home and Abroad: British Lendscape Drawings, 1750-1850." Includes works by Tumer, Constable, Cozens and Gainsborough.

Whitney Museum of American Art (tel: 883.8800). To June 7: First major (tel: 570.36.33). To Aug. 30: "The Paintings of George Bellows." The works, including tandscapes, seascapes, portraits and street scenes, capture the vitality of American life at taken between 1934 and 1956 of the people who populate the largest Philippine Island. To Dec. 6: "Arts of Mogul India." Twenty paintings and six objects from the late 16th to the 8th century. Includes portraits of the Corcorar Gellery (tel: 638.3211). To June 28: "Guillermo Kuitca." The Mogul emperors and members of their court as well as other paintings Norton Simon Museum (tel: young Argentine artist adds icono-449.6840). To Nov. 15: "Confronta-graphic elements to road maps, city and objects made under royal pa-

plans, floor plans, and beds to reach unusual emotional associations of memory, loss, desire and fear in his

National Gallery of Art (tel: 842,6690). To Jan. 24, 1993: "Art of the American Indian Frontier." One

hundred and fifty works from the un-paralled Chandler-Point collection of Woodlands and Plains indian art.

Smithsonian Institution (tel: 357.27.00). To Sept. 7: "Peoples of the Luzon Mountains: Philippine Photographs by Eduardo Masterre." Fifty-five black-and-white photographs

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BUSINESS/FINANCE

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

WALL STREET WATCH

McDonnell Douglas Finds Its Shares in a Tailspin

By Richard W. Stevenson New York Times Service

EW YORK — Last antumn, McDonnell Donglas Corp. appeared to have put its financial woes behind it, and the stock reached its highest price in several years. The large number of short sellers who were betting against the aerospace company started bailing out, in some cases with big losses. But they jumped too quickly.

For the last few months, McDonnell Donglas shares have been diving faster than an F-15, though they were up nearly \$4 Thursday, at \$43 each. Still, the price has declined nearly \$20 a share in a month, and since last autumn has lost more than half its value.

The decline has been so sharp that McDonnell Douglas, which is based in St. Louis, is considering stepping in to start buying shares itself.

Herbert J. Lanese, the company's chief financial officer, said that with the stock trad-

The decline has been so sharp that the company may start buying shares itself. ing at 35 percent of its book value, a share buyback would

make sense. He declined to say how many shares the company might purchase or at what prices. "We've got some cash," Mr. Lanese said. "We're considering going into the market for some of our own shares,"

Mr. Lanese said the loss of investor confidence had been exaggerated by thin trading.

Of McDonnell Douglas's 39 million shares, about half are owned by employee stock plans or McDonnell family trusts. As a result, only 18 million shares or so are available for active trading.

and Mr. Lanese said any active buying or selling has an outsized effect on the price. But to many investors, the problems extend well beyond liquidity. For starters, there is the growing uncertainty over McDonnell Douglas's chances of cobbling together its deal to sell up to 40 percent of its commercial aircraft business for \$2 billion

to a nascent aerospace company in Taiwan. HERE ARE also concerns about the company's ability to control cost overruns on its largest Pentagon contract, the C-17 transport plane, and head off mounting congressional opposition to the program. If those problems are not enough, the company is being battered by the depressed worldwide

market for jetliners, a result of the hard times for airlines. Apparently disenchanted by McDonnell Donglas's continuing proubles, one of its largest institutional shareholders, the Magellan Fund, started selling big chunks of the stock in the middle of May, including a 500,000 share block on May 14, traders said. Seeing profit in the downward spiral, short sellers have surged back in recent weeks. Mr. Lanese said short interest in the stock might now be as high as 3.5 million shares, up from 3.2 million on

May 15 and just over 2 million as recently as February. The croding confidence among investors has also extended to their faith in John McDonnell, the chairman and chief executive. "There's a management core there that's excellent, but they're also being burdened by what I would call a less decisive CEO than is appropriate," said Howard A. Rubel, an analyst at CJ.

Lawrence in New York. The losses suffered by most airlines and the end of the Cold War have made for a tumultuous time for military contractors and acrospace companies.

In McDonnell's case, much of the uncertainty centers on the proposed deal with Taiwan Acrospace, which appears to be collapsing. Without the \$2 billion that deal would provide, McDonnell Douglas will be unable to afford to develop a planned jumbo jetliner, the MD-12. And without the MD-12, the company will be imable to remain competitive with its rivals in commercial aircraft, Boeing Co. and Airbus Industrie, the European consurtium.

The question now is whether McDonnell Douglas's share price

is bottoming out, creating a buying opportunity.
"Not yet," said Lawrence M. Harris, an anal Securities in Chicago. "It's possible there could continue to be some slippage from these levels, not because of changed fundamentals but simply because of investor psychology."

Midland To Sell Cook Travel

Deal Makes Bank More Appealing To Its 2 Suitors

upited by Our Staff From Dispate LONDON - Midland Bank PLC agreed Thursday to sell its Thomas Cook travel agency for £200 million (\$367 million), a move that will make the bank more attrac-tive to its two saitors, HSBC Holdings PLC and Lloyds Bank PLC.

The sale, to Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale of Ger-many and its LTU GmbH affiliate, Germany's largest charter airline, will give Midland an extraordinary gain of £99 million. It also will add £128 million to distributable reserves, bolstering Midland's ability to pay dividends

This will help keep the bid price firm," said Michael Lever, an analyst at Smith New Court.

HSBC, which owns Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corp., recently raised its agreed bid for Midland to £3.9 billion, while Lloyds has proposed an offer of £3.7 billion.

HSBC gained clearance Thursday from the U.S. Federal Reserve Board to proceed with the proposed merger. This was the last legal obstacle for HSBC, whose bid had already been cleared by the EC Commission and British regulatory

Lloyde's proposed offer is under investigation by Britain's Monopo-lies and Mergers Commission, but the bank is expected to announce higher terms late Friday, after a

board meeting.
Analysts said the sale of Thomas Cook highlighted the fact that Midland could survive as an independent bank should HSBC and Lloyds

both fail to gain control.

They said if the economy pulled out of its two-year slump, Midland should be making profits of at least £500 million within a few years.

"Midland has 15 percent of a very profitable banking market," said Julian Robins at Barclays de Zoete Wedd. "Its capital ratios are fine and it has a strong management team. Unless the economy fails to recover, Midland is a viable independent bank."

Thomas Cook's pretax profit fell 68 percent to £8.9 million in 1991, mainly because of the Gulf War. (Reuters, AP)

Nestlé's Perrier Deal Snags

By Jacques Neher Special to the Herald Tribune PARIS — Nestlé SA said Thursday that EC Commission regulators opposed its acquisition of Source Perrier SA, the fruit it won three months ago after one of Europe's toughest corporate battles.

But the Swiss food giant said it would not retreat from its plan to absorb the French mineral water company and increase its stake in the expanding and highly profitable mineral water market. Nestle, mounting a public campaign to counter the objections of the EC Commission's Mergers

Task Force, said it would appeal to the European Court of Justice, if necessary, to win approval for its 13.3 billion franc (\$2.5 billion) acquisition, agreed in March after a takeover battle of several months with the Agnelli family of Italy. The company is challenging both the methodology and the jurisdiction of the European Community's executive in deciding the legality of mergers.

Analysts doubted, however, that the case would

go that far. They suggested that Nestle would overcome the task force's objections by selling off one of Perrier's smaller mineral water brands so as to lessen the company's market concentration in the bottled water sector.

Nestlé said it received notice last month that the Mergers Task Force opposed the deal because it would give Nestle and the French food and beverage group BSN an unacceptably high concentra-tion of power — about two-thirds of the bottled-water market — in France. followed by hearings and a decision by the Com-mission, in late July or early August, according to a mission spokesman

In an attempt to avoid Commission objections, Nestlé originally structured its bid with the proviso that, if successful, it would sell Volvic - one of the too brands in the Perrier stable --- to BSN.

As a result, Nestle, which already owns the Vittel brand, would have 36.8 percent of the French market, while BSN, which already markets Evian and Badoit brands, would increase its share

In an interview with the French newspaper La Tribune de l'Expansion, Serge Milhaud, head of Nestle's mineral water business, challenged the task force's calculations, saying that "to consider only the French market is nonsense at a time when we're creating the European market." At Nestle headquarters in Vevey, Switzerland, a

Nestle spokesman, François Perroud, said the fact that France had approved the deal should mean something to Brussels. "It's quite clear that any suspected concentration would first be the worry of the French authorities," he said. Sylvain Massot, an analyst with Morgan Stanley

in London, said it was "quite likely" that the EC would pressure Nestlé to sell other water assets, or See NESTLE, Page 13

Lloyd's to Boost **Capital Fund** Through Levy

By Erik Ipsen

LONDON — Lloyd's of London flexed its financial muscle on Thursday, announcing that it would double the insurance market's last-resort capital fund, to £1 billion (\$1.8 billion), through a levy on its "names," the wealthy individuals who supply the market's capital. The Lloyd's chief executive, Alan

Lord, said the move proved "that we can manage our own problems with-out a bailout from the government or the Bank of England."

Others were not sure it did anything of the sort. "To be honest, the chance of a bailout for these people is zero," said one London-based insurance analyst. He said that "sympathy for wealthy people here is a bit thin at the moment."

Most observers saw the doubling

of the central fund — the fund of last resort that pays out claims against syndicates that have gone bust — as an attempt by Lloyd's to reassure nervous insurance brokers and policyholders.

Reports in recent months that many Lloyd's names were either unable or unwilling to pay up on their loss-riddled syndicates have cast a pall over the market. Many analysts said that if Lloyd's had not shored up the fund, brokers would have taken their business elsewhere. where they could be more confident that claims would be paid.

Having donsed one fire, however, many others remain. Lloyd's, which reports its results with a three-year lag, is due later this month to reveal the extent of its 1989 loss. That loss was estimated by the independent analytical firm hatset on Wednesday to total \$2 billion, well above most previous projections. "There is no doubt that Lloyd's will be announcing what are by our standards very heavy losses," Mr. Lord said. mists fear that if the treaty founders, Italy has the most to lose, since it has pledged to make deep cuts in its public-sector deficit and to slash

What is worse, those losses will almost surely continue. Analysts widely predict that 1990 will be a disaster almost on the scale of 1989. and although losses are expected to be down significantly for 1991, most forecast that the market as a whole will not show a profit until the 1992

While the doubling of the central fund may well demonstrate the market's underlying strength, it also will represent yet another drain on the resources of Lloyd's names. "I cannot imagine that names currently litigating against Lloyd's will be terribly eager to pay the new special levy." said Simon Willis, an insurance analyst at County NatWest.

In addition to those who might refuse to pay the levy, which is due by July 15, many names may simply be unable to. In fact, before his remarks on Thursday, it had been widely speculated that Mr. Lord would use the opportunity to unveil a plan to limit members' losses.

But Mr. Lord said thathe and his senior colleagues had not been able to finalize a plan to limit the huge losses suffered by some names by spreading the losses around to profitable syndicates as well.

Mr. Lord stressed that he still felt that some sort of stop-loss scheme needed to be put in place quickly. David C chairman of Lloyd's, echoed that sentiment, saying in the market's annual report that it was "patently clear" that "some amelioration of, past years' losses is essential." The reason, Lloyd's executives say, as that without such a plan, members may decamp in droves, taking their capital with them.

Nonetheless, some observers said they believed any bailous scheme was increasingly unlikely to, win the required approval of the majority of Lloyd's members. "A lot of members I hear say there is no way that they will pay up for somebody else's losses," said Val-entine Powell, chief executive of the Society of Lloyd's Members.

Rates Heading Up in Italy and Denmark

ROME - The Bank of Italy raised a key interest rate on Thursday in a bid to defend the sagging lira, which has been battered on curren-cy markets since Denmark's rejection of the Maastricht treaty.

The bank said it would effectively raise the rate at which it gave emergency funding to credit institutions, from 12.5 percent to 13.0

The bank said the move had been taken "in view of the tensions" that had developed "on European foreign exchanges and financial markets and their effects on the Italian markets." The discount rate was left unchanged at 12

In a related move, Denmark's two biggest banks, Den Danske Bank A/S and Unidan-

NEW YORK - The Securities and Ex-

change Commission on Thursday sued a mem-

ber of the founding family of Revion Inc., a former director of Bear Steams Cos. and other

prominent financial figures for their alleged roles in what federal officials said was one of

The defendants, some of whom serve on the

boards of major corporations, allegedly earned, more than \$13 million from the scheme, which

the biggest insider trading cases ever.

lasted from 1987 to 1989.

deposit and lending rates from next Wednesday secause of the central bank's hike in money market rates to defend the krone. Both banks said they would raise most of

The dollar sank as investors continued to shift into the Deutsche mark. Page 12.

their rates by between 0.5 of a percentage point and 0.75 of a point.

On Wednesday, the central bank raised the yield at its weekly sale of certificates of deposit to 10.50 percent, from 9.85 percent, after the Danish rejection of the Maastricht treaty. Italian bond and currency markets have been

particularly hard hit by worries that the process of EC monetary union could unravel. Econo-

former chief executive of Dell Labs Inc. and a

The SEC is seeking millions of dollars from

brother of Charles Revson, who founded Revion.

the defendants to repay victims. It is also seek-

ing civil penalties of up to three times the total

At the same time, the Manhattan U.S. Attor-

ney's office brought related criminal securities

frand charges against Mr. Downe, allegedly a

key figure in the scheme. Mr. Downe pleade

guilty to the criminal counts later in the day.

following the rejection of the treaty.

The rate move follows two days of hectic

trading on Italian markets in which the lira has

come under increasing pressure against the

• Fmance Minister Michel Sapin of France

said the mark's strength since Danish voters

rejected the Maastricht treaty proved that the

European Community needed the equality that

• The Danish Finance Ministry said it would

wait before deciding to issue new Ecu bonds

Deutsche mark.

In related developments:

monetary union would offer.

SEC Files Huge Insider-Trading Suit

public-relations firm, exchanged insider infor-

mation on mergers, leveraged buyouts and tender offers with each other, as well was with family members and friends. The transactions involved securities in Kidde

Inc., Bally Manufacturing Corp., Edgeomb Corp., Bear Stearns and Tyler Corp. The others charged are David Salamone, a London securities trader; Thomas Warde, who was a partner in a Los Angeles real estate investment firm; Milton Weinger, a salesman for Op-penheimer & Co., and Fred Sullivan, who was chief executive officer and chairman of Kidde.

According to court documents filed in feder-al district court in Manhattan, Mr. Downe and They include Edward Downe Jr., a former Steven Greenberg, chairman of Anametrics, a (Reuters, Bloomberg) director at Bear Stearns, and Martin Revson, a

Stung by Loss for Year, JAL Reorganizes for a Comeback

profits generated.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dapatches

TOKYO — Japan Air Lines Co., Japan's biggest ariline, said Thursday it would undertake a major reorganization in an effort to return to profitability.

In outlining the plan, the company said it would reduce hining, buy more of its supplies and services abroad and try to exceed the demantic market. expand its domestic market.

JAL said in a statement that it had a

faced greater competition. The company

KLM swang back to profit in 1991-92 and reinstated its dividend. Page 13.

had a profit of 24.9 billion yen the preced-

from current plans. More than 21,000 people work for JAL.

Staff would be cut in administration and peripheral departments and the airline would give priority to placing more personnel in direct sales and operations activities, JAL said.

Pointing to the high value of the yea, JAL said it would buy more cabin supplies, ground equipment and uniforms

added that 900 ground jobs would be cut abroad, and would transfer some maintenance work overseas. It also said there would be major cuts in

> the scale of future investment JAL added that it would seek to expand its share of Japan's domestic passenger market to 33 percent, from 24 percent now, by enlarging its network and operat-ing more flights. International routes also are to be restructured.

ing year. New hiring this financial year will be cut to 250 people from 497 in 1992, it said. It pretax loss of 6.04 billion yen (\$47 million) A Foster's Challenge for BHP

Resource Firm Seeks to Boost Brewer's Value

By Michael Richardson nternational Berold Tribune

Hill Pty., Australia's biggest company, noved to take over a major holding in Foster's Brewing Group this week, it exposed a significant flaw in BHP's financial position. Analysts said Thursday that by

appointing receivers and managers to control the assets of International Brewing Investments Pty., BHP was trying to protect its interests by restoring market confidence in Foster's. The company, the world's fourth-largest brewer, has major operations in North America and Europe as well as Australia.

IBI is a subsidiary of Interna-tional Brewing Holdings Pty. Both heavily indebted companies have been run by the entrepreneur John Elliott, who played a key role in building the Foster's group, largely on borrowed money. Analysts said that with BHP's intervention, the high-flying career of Mr. Elliott. who was once touted as a future

Party, appeared to be at an end. IBI's assets consist mainly of a 32 percent shareholding plus options over shares in Foster's.

In untangling a defensive cross-holding in the late 1980s between BHP and Elders IXL Ltd., as Foster's was then named, BHP sold Elders shares to Mr. Elliott's personal company, then known as Harlin Holdings Ltd. In exchange, BHP received re-deemable preference shares in Har-

lin which, with accrued interest,

billion Australian dollars (\$760

long as necessary to unlock what it proach. A merger might also contraregards as full value from its Foster's holding.

22.7 billion dollars, against total debt of 7.1 billion.

Vincent Pisani, an analyst at Potter Warburg Securities Ltd. in Melbourne, has calculated that the price of Foster's will have to reach 2.38 dollars a share before BHP's exposure is fully covered. BHP also has investments in oth-

er Australian companies worth around 1.1 billion dollars. Mr. Pisani said that unwinding

some or all of these investments would give BHP "enormous scope to reduce debt or make some major acquisition that will provide substantial earnings growth over the next decade."

Analysts said that Mr. Elliott had wanted to break up Foster's in the expectation that its major business operations would be worth more when sold separately. BHP, however, appears to be-

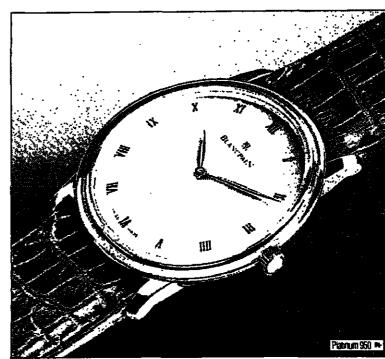
lieve that holding Foster's together, and perhaps making it larger, is the best way of adding value. Since last month, Foster's has been the target of a proposed merg-er with S.A. Brewing Holdings Ltd., a much smaller Australian

brewing with a reputation for shrewd, aggressive management.

vene Australia's anti-monopoly law. But Mr. Prescott said BHP con-

See FOSTERS, Page 13

BLANCPAIN



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Sources: All Reuters except ECU: Llayds Bank. Rates applicable to interbank deposits of \$1 millik Discount rate
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amount to a debt of more than 1 million) owed by International Brewing Investments to BHP.

Mr. Elliott used the Elders had "the financial strength and shares, plus a large loan from a syndicate of banks led by Hong-kong & Shanghai Banking Corp., for what turned out to be an abort-MELBOURNE - When Broken ed takeover bid for Elders in 1989.

BHP maintains that the value of Foster's shares has been undermined since 1989 by conflict in the The move to take

over a large Foster's holding exposed a flaw in BHP's BHP is a leading international producer of minerals, steel and pecondition.

prime minister of Australia by supporters in the opposition Liberal Foster's shares.

Thursday, up from 1.99 on Monup from Monday.

nancial pressures, uncertainty and a perceived overhang of Foster's stock in the market. Analysts said that by asserting control over IBL, removing Mr. El-

liott and his allies from the board of Foster's and offering to buy the remaining debt of 1.2 billion dol-lars owed by the Ellion group to the bank syndicate, BHP is attempting to push up the value of They closed at 2.10 dollars on

day. BHP closed at 14.44, 2 cents John Prescott, BHP's managing director, has made it clear that the director, has made it clear that the company is prepared to wait as

He said there would be "no fire sidered that "some aspects of the sale of Foster's shares" and that, if merger proposal have merit." He necessary, BHP would acquire international Brewing Investment's work with Foster's, Asahi Brewerholding from the receivers to en- ies Ltd. of Japan and S.A. Brewing sure that it was not dispersed at less to review the proposal "to deterthan full value.

Mr. Prescott added that BHP

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Stock Indexes

Sources: Reuters. Mattl, Associated Press. London Infl Financial Futures Exchange, Infl Petroleum Exchange

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MARKET DIARY

Dow Edges Lower As Key Sectors Slip

NEW YORK - Wall Street low demand from wholesalers. stocks closed narrowly lower Thursday as a slump in drug and tobacco stocks offset strength in

auto shares. The Dow Jones industrial average fell 7.26 to 3,399.73. Declining stocks led advancers, 8-to-6, on the

N.Y. Stocks

New York Stock Exchange. Trading was active, with about 204 million shares changing hands on the Big Board.

The market has sort of hit the wall here," said Hugh Johnson, chief investment strategist at First Albany. "On one side, it's clear the economy and earnings are recovering. On the other, there's still a nagging concern about valuations."

Lurking in the background, meanwhile, are some "demoralizing events" Mr. Johnson said, including Ross Perot's emergence as a presidential candidate and the steep decline in drug stocks. Investors are dissatisfied with Mr. Perot's failure to explain his positions on economic and political issues, he said.

Drug shares continued to drop on concerns spurred by Bristol-Myers Squibb's statement Tuesday that

dampened expectations because of Bristol-Myers Squibb lost 1/4 to 65% and Glaxo Holdings gave up %

Xoma plunged 4% to 15% after the Food and Drug Administration told the company the federal agency might need more information before it approves Xoma's sepsis drug E5. The news came one day after rival Centocor said the FDA ordered a new Phase III trial of a

competing arug, Centoxin. Tobacco stocks tumbled on nervousness about a possible negative ruling for the industry in the Cipollone case now before the Supreme

Philip Morris was down more than ! point.

General Motors, the most active ly traded stock, soared 1% to 43% following Wednesday's reports of nigher auto sales for late May. Ford Motor, the fourth most active issue,

gained 1½ to 48¼.

USX Corp.-U.S. Steel rose % to 26¼, and Phelps Dodge climbed 1½ to 95%.

The industrial metals group has lagged behind the broad market, but that's beginning to change helped in part by a rally in copper prices, said Richard Meyer, head of institutional trading at Ladenburg

Demand for DM Pulls Dollar Below 1.6 Level

Compiled by Our Stoff From Dispatches NEW YORK - The dollar slipped below the key 1,6000 Deutsche mark level Thursday as traders hesitated ahead of a U.S. unem-

ployment report on Friday.

The jobs report for May had been expected to show a gain of about 125,000 nonfarm payrolls,

Foreign Exchange

but speculation grew that the increase may have been fewer than 100,000.

"There was some concern about the employment report," said Robert Hatcher, a vice president at Barclays Bank PLC.
The dollar finished the session at

1.5980 DM, down from 1.6050 on The U.S. unit ended at 127.350

yen, after 127.345. There were reports that the Bank of Japan intervened against the dollar in Tokyo before the opening in New York.

 But John Lyman, senior customer dealer at Bank of Tokyo Trust, said, "I think the market has shrugged off the Bank of Japan intervention, but it would be a different matter if other G-7 countries

The dollar gained to 1.4622 The pound gained to 51.8270 for the first seven we Swiss francs from 1.4609, but refrom \$1.8165. (Reuters, Bloomberg) throughout the year.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

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as the market continued its shift to the German currency in the wake

Dealers said, however, that demand for marks tailed off somewhat late in the session.

at 1.6050 on Wednesday. It also had slumped to 127.55 yen, from

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were awaiting further direction Fri-day from U.S. jobs data for May. The EC crisis continued to loom

members that the treaty would go ahead even without Denmark. did proceed as planned, the treaty would not be legally binding on

ratified by all 12 EC members. francs, from 1.4715, and to 5.4145

of Denmark's rejection of the Maastricht treaty.

127.70. Traders in Europe also said they

over trading and raise doubts despite assurances from 11 of its Traders noted that even if the 11

Against other currencies, the

treated to 5.3785 French francs from 5.4015. The pound advanced to \$1.8265, after \$1.8185. Earlier, in London, the dollar also sank through the 1.6 DM level

In late trading, the U.S. currency stood at 1.5990 DM, after finishing

any of them unless it had been

dollar dropped to 1.4650 Swiss French francs, from 5.4125.

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Euro Disney Cautious on Profit

PARIS - Euro Disney SCA said Thursday that more than 1.5 million people had visited its theme park in the seven weeks since it opened April but it abandoned a forecast that it would make profit this year.
 The company said profit fell to 74.6 million francs (\$13.77 million) in its first half, to March 31, from 120.7 million francs a year earlier, Shares of Wal: Disney Co., which owns 49 percent of Euro Disney, dropped \$1.875 to close at \$37.25 on the New York Stock Exchange.

Euro Disney previously said it expected 11 million visitors in its first year of operation. President Robert Fitzpatrick indicated that the figures for the first seven weeks did not guarantee a similar rate of attendance (Reuters, AP)

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Retail Sales Creep Up, Recovery Still Detected NEW YORK (NYT) - Sales in most U.S. retail-chain stores crept up in May, continuing the sluggish growth that began with a bang in January but has wound down ever since, the companies reported Thursday. J.C. Penney & Co. and Wal-Mart confounded the trend, posting strong increases. But clothing specialty store companies, like Limited and AnnTaylor, lost sales because of unusually cold, rainy

weather that quelled consumers' desire to buy summer clothing. Most other companies had a 1 or 2 percent improvement in sales during May. Analysts said even though the month overall was disappointing, they still saw glimmers of a recovery lurking in the reported sales numbers.

The Salomon Brothers Retailing Index, which tracks the sales of a basket of leading retailers, rose 4.2 percent in May. "The underpinnings for an improved retail sales and carnings picture for the year are becoming more evident," said Jeffrey M. Feiner, a retail analyst

Analysts are now looking to the back-to-school season in August, when they expect a rise in sales that will continue until Christmas. with Salomon.

Du Pont Merck Sets Japan Venture

WASHINGTON (Bloomberg) — Du Pont Merck Pharmaceutical Co. and Banyu Pharmacentical Co. plan to form a joint venture by the end of the year to develop and market drugs in Japan, they said Thursday. The new venture's first drug will be Aviva, which is being tested for the treatment of Alzheimer's disease in the United States, he said.

The as-yet unnamed company will conduct any additional trials needed for Japanese regulatory approval and then market the products. For the first few years, a Du Pont Merck spokesman said, the sales force will be directed by Banyu until a separate company is formed.

Motorola, Samsung in Palm-Tops

SCHAUMBERG, Illinois (Bloomberg) — Motorola Inc. said it would develop and market an ultralight personal computer with wireless-communications capabilities with Samsung Electronics Co. before the

Motorola becomes the latest U.S. electronics maker to leap into the burgeoning "pen" or "palm-top" computer sector, which analysts expect will account for as much as \$3 billion in revenue by 1995. Motorola's agreement with Samsung is not exclusive, a Motorola spokesman said. Motorola already supplies communications processors for IBM's new PC Radio PCs and is seeking other allies in the "pen" PC field. Samsung will build the handheld PCs in South Korea, incorporating Motorola's communications microprocessors, the companies said.

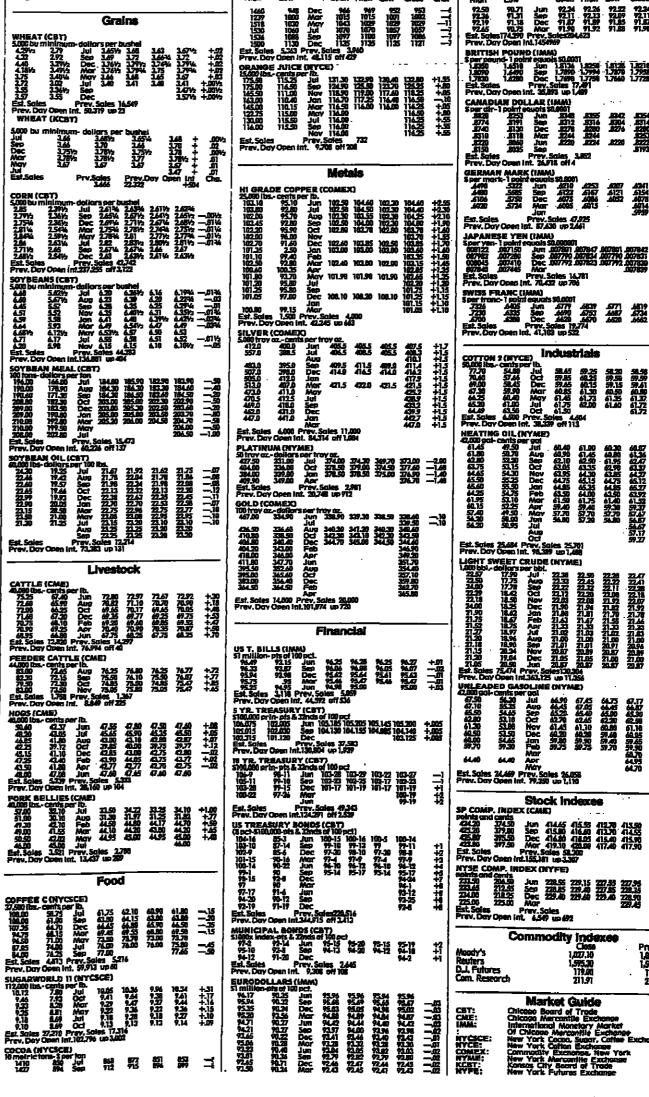
For the Record

Boeing Co. said that Emirates, the international airline owned by the government of Dubai, had signed a potential \$2 billion contract for the purchase of seven Boeing 777 twinjets with options on seven additional

American Airlines said passenger traffic rose 12.2 percent to a record 7.7 billion revenue passenger miles in May, the first full month under its new fare structure. But American's load factor was down 1.5 points to 60.9 percent because of a 15 percent increase in capacity. (Bloomberg)

Booke A. Sells has been ousted as chairman and chief executive of Revco D.S. Inc., which emerged this week from bankruptcy court protection, the drug-store chain's board announced. (AP)

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French Deal Will Cost Blue Circle £206 Million

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches LONDON — Blue Circle Industries PLC, a British building-materials concern, said Thursday that it was buying a French maker of radiators and boilers, Compagnie Internationale du Chanffage SA, for a total of £206.1 million (\$375 million) including assumption of debt.

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The French company, known as Celsius, is a subsidiary of the Nord Est packaging and transport group, in which the investment-banking house Compagnie Financière de Panibas is the major shareholder. Celsius brands include Chappée, Brotje, Finimetal, Burnham and Rodiac. In 1991, Celsius made an operating profit of £23.4 million on revenue of £361 million.

Blue Circle is paying £124.9 million for Celsius's equity and it will also take on £81.2 million of debt To raise the money, Blue Circle is making a £241.6 million, one-forfive rights issue at 200 pence a share.

Blue Circle also said its prospects for 1992 were worse than in 1991, when it made pretax profit of £124.2 million, because of a further fall in cement prices. Still, Blue Circle forecast an unchanged dividend of 11.25 nence for this year.

A July 6 Date On the stock exchange, Blue Cir-For Stock Issue cle's share price fell 5 pence to 239. In Paris, Nord Est said it would LONDON - Wellcome PLC, the maker of the leading

make a net gain of 650 million francs (\$120.3 million) from the sale. Nord Est's stock advanced 6.80 francs a share to 124.80 on Thursday, after having risen sharply in recent days on expectations of a bid by Paribas for the outstanding capital

The deal is the second major asset sale engineered by Paribas since it announced in March a 184 miltion franc loss for 1991. In April, Paribas agreed to sell control of its Ciments Français unit to Italesmenti of Italy for 6 billion francs.

Blue Circle said that Celsius's owned distribution outlets in Germany and wholesaler network in France, complemented by sales companies in Spain, Italy and Austria, were expected to offer en-hanced opportunities for the distribution of other Blue Circle home products in Continental Europe.

The acquisition is part of Bhie Circle's strategy of expanding its Potterson Myson radiator business, which included the purchase of the Swedish company Thermopanel

Zaire Seizes Foreign Oil Assets

By Kenneth B. Noble New York Times Service

KINSHASA, Zaire - The government has announced that it is seizing the assets of European and American oil companies based in Zaire in an effort to ease chronic fuel shortages.

Government officials said that the measure was temporary and that the companies would be reimbursed for petroleum supplies taken. They also said the equipment and property would be returned, although no date was given.

The government said it had taken the action "in order to prevent the already sick national economy from dying of suffocation,"

From now on, the statement added, all petroleum products were to be distributed and sold through Petro-Zaire, the government-owned company. Oil industry officials and Western diplomats here

fear the move means that the assets have been nationalized. The companies include Chevron and Mobil Oil of the United States, Shell Oil of Britain and the Netherlands and Petro-Fina of Italy. We have no idea what will happen once the gov ernment takes control." a Western diplomat said.

Oil industry officials have declined comment, but sources close to both sides say they have been holding marathon meetings in an effort to avoid what Western observers see as an ominous development.

Jerome Nelson, president of the Zaire-American Chamber of Commerce, said, "This is one of many

misguided attempts to correct an already tragic sinuation and it reflects the fact that some people here really don't understand how the corporate world really works.

The decision to "requisition" the assets of the oil companies, as government officials are calling it, is reminiscent of President Mobutu Sese Seko's campaign in 1971 to "Zaireize" the economy. With few exceptions, dozens of foreign companies were nationalized or passed to private Zairean control, often without compensation.

By most accounts, the decision resulted in chaos. Corporate treasuries were emptied by their new owners, stocks allowed to run down and investment came to a virtual standstill.

Petroleum prices are fixed by the government, Prices at the pump, which have averaged about \$2.10 a gallon, were last raised on May 24, when the exchange rate was about 170,000 zaires to the dollar.

This week, the zaire fell to about 210,000 to the dollar on the official market, and 280,000 on the parallel market, which has in turn caused pump prices to fall to about \$1.52 a gallon.

As a result, the oil companies say they are selling their products at a loss, and have been pushing for price increases. The government believes that if it allowed prices to rise, social unrest could result.

The issue of transportation and the availability of soline in Zaire is central to the government's surviv-' said Makau Mutua, director of Harvard Law School's Human Rights program.

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Boots Shares Slip Despite **Profit Rise**

LONDON - Boots Co. the retailing and pharmaceutical group, said Thursday that pretax profit last year rose 7.2 percent despite the recession. But the result failed to reassure investors and the group's stock price fell

"The economic climate of last year adversely affected all our businesses, especially those retail businesses highly dependent on discretionary consumer expenditure," the chief executive, Sir James

Blythe, said. Pretax profit climbed to £374.2 million (\$681 million) in the year ended March 31. Revenue last year rose 2.5 percent to £3.65 billion.

Boots shares fell sharply on the London market, closing at 466 pence, down 24 pence. The company was gloomy about prospects for a strong economic recovery but said it had seen some encouraging sales increases so far this year,

KLM Returns to Profit, **Reinstates Dividend**

AMSTERDAM -- KLM Royal Dutch Airlines said Thursday that higher market share and cuts in costs helped it to return to profit in 1991-92, after a huge loss the previ-

The Dutch flag carrier reinstated its dividend, declaring a payment of 1 guilder a share, after skipping its payout last year. The stock responded, climbing 80 cents to 40.30

guilders (\$22.20). The dividend, which compared with a 1.80 guilder payout in 1989-90, surprised the market. "It shows confidence in the future," one dealer said. "It's a nice dividend."

KLM's net profit was 125 million guilders for the year that ended March 31, a big swing from its 630 million guilder loss in 1990-91. Earnings that year were hit hard by higher fuel and insurance charges and falling demand due to the Gulf

Revenue rose 20.7 percent last year, to 7.91 billion guilders. Despite a poor year for interna-tional aviation, KLM said its traffic grew 7 percent, while productivity grew 9 percent, helped by its

-year cost-cutting program.

Falling fuel prices after the end of the Gulf War helped KLM to cut spending in this area by 3 percent to 778 million guilders.

Wellcome Sets

anti-AIDS drug Retrovir, on

Thursday announced initial

details of its plans for a huge

It said it expected the inter-

national offer of 202 to 400

million shares, which could

raise £4 billion (\$7.3 billion) for

medical research, to begin on

July 6. The final number and

price of the shares, which will

be traded in London and New

York, will be available June 25.

could initially bring down the price of other British drug

stocks, such as Glaxo or

SmithKline Beecham, as in-

vestors picked up more Well-

come shares and cut their holdings in other companies.

by the charity Wellcome Trust, which holds a 73.5 percent

stake. Now the trust plans to

slash its stake to between 25

and 50 percent.

Wellcome PLC was formed

Analysts said the offer

share offer.

But stakes in unprofitable airlines dragged earnings lower by 145 million guilders, about the same as a year ago, mainly on the 49 percent equity stake in Northwest Airlines Inc. "Everything is being tried to improve the results in these par-ticipations," KLM said.

The French airline Air Littoral, in which KLM has a 35 percent stake, and the regional Dutch line Transavia, in which it has 80 percent, were consolidated into the accounts. A one-time 109 million guilder charge was taken due to a restructuring at Air Littoral.

The sale of a Fokker 27 and two DC10 airliners produced a book profit of 61 million guilders.

Interest charges rose to 253 million from 164 million, with both higher debts and interest charges. The sirline paid no tax, compared with 152 million guilders tax

the previous year. KLM made no forecasts for the

NESTLE: Acquisition of Perrier Hits an EC Snag were Contrexèville and Vichy-St.

(Continued from first finance page)

else force it to call off its deal with purchase Volvic. He said the Commission was like-

ly set against the deal at the start by ne accord between Nestlé and BSN, which appeared designed to prevent anyone else from coming into the French water market, in which 5.9 pillion liters (1,56 billion gallons) are sold annually. "It looked like they didn't want a third player in the market — 'If you take this, I'll take that," Mr. Massot said.

Among the water brands that could be sold off, analysts said,

Mr. Massot said an appeal to the

BSN and find another company to European Court would be "very costly" for Nestle, which has its money ned up in Perrier but would have no power to exercise its voting rights - including putting in place its own management - until the case was resolved. Already, the impossibility of

> on the company. Nestlé lawyers were in Brussels on Thursday in an attempt to get exempted from the rules that suspend an acquirer's voting rights during the merger ap-

if deprived of acquiring Volvic —a large spring that would guarantee the company's long-term presence in the water business. BSN's stock dipped around 2 percent at one point Thursday but recovered half of that decline to close down 10

■ Agnellis Staying Out managing its acquisition is grating The holding company IFINT,

through which the Agnellis made their bid for Perner, said Thursday that it would not reopen the fight Bloomberg Business News reported. "The episode is closed for us," said an IFINT spokesman in Turin.

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• Cable & Wireless PLC said it had agreed to buy a substantial minority stake in Sovam Teleport, a Moscow-based telecommunications joint venture; the maximum potential investment is \$4 million.

• Kaushof Holding AG, the second-largest German retailer, said it expected double-digit growth in earnings and sales this year, led by a turnaround at Oppermann, which specializes in gift articles

• British Aerospace PLC said it had appointed a new managing director, David Parry, at its armaments subsidiary Royal Ordnance, to replace Peter Kenyon, who has resigned.

. Ahold NV, a Dutch retailer, said its net profit rose 11 percent in the first quarter, to 85.1 million guilders (\$47 million), on a 22 percent rise in sales. to 6.7 billion guilders.

• Car sales in Italy rose for the fourth consecutive month in May, to a record high, the National Association of Car Manufacturers said; anto sales totaled 230,154, up 6.4 percent from a year earlier.

• Whithread PLC said it had leased 174 pubs to Pulmaster Ltd., a unit of Brent Walker Group PLC, in order to comply with the British govern-

• The EC Commission said it was imposing provisional anti-dumping duties of up to 75 percent on imports of large electrolytic capacitors made with aluminum from Japan, following complaints from EC producers.

• Ford Motor Co. will invest \$18 million in Hungary to produce starting engines for its 1995 model vehicles, the MTI news agency said.

FOSTERS: BHP Seeks to Boost Its Holding's Value ability should improve sharply over

mine whether it is worthy of imple-

Asahi is the second largest shareholder in Foster's, with a total stake of nearly 20 percent, much of it acquired from Mr. Elliott.

The move on International Brewing Investments was generally seen by analysts as a positive step by BHP, which has maintained or increased its dividend in every year for the last 49 years.

However, the company's performance for the year that ended May 31 is likely to have fallen well short of 1990-91, when net profit was just over 1 billion dollars on revenue of 15.6 billion dollars.

Peter R. Lester, resource research manager at ANZ McCaughan Securities Ltd., said that he expected BHP's net profit for 1991-92 would

be around 800 million dollars on revenue of 14.5 billion. The company's steel division will be largely responsible for dragging

performance down, according to analysts. Ron McNeilly, chief executive of BHP Steel, said that latest production figures for the division and projected demand made "poor reading even when compared to 1991, a year of depressed activity." But Mr. Pisani said that profit-

sustained program to expand its minerals and petroleum businesses, Without diversification, "we

the next few years.

would be looking pretty sick to-day," said Robin Stewardson, BHP's chief economist. He estimates that in 1991-92, at

To reduce dependence on steel

and the limited Australian market,

least 60 percent of BHP's sales will be overseas, mainly in the United States, Asia and Europe, with 40 percent in Australia. În 1984-85, the proportion was 54 percent Australia and 46 percent overseas.

BHP has since 1984 undertaken a Hanson Buys U.S. Firm's Coal Mine Agence France-Presse

LONDON - Hanson PLC announced Thursday that its U.S.-based Peabody Holding Co. unit had agreed to buy Southern Ohio Coal Co.'s Martinka Mine and coal reserves for about \$165 million. The price includes about \$26 million of assumed liabilities, the compa-

Ohio Power also has agreed to a 20-year coal-supply contract with Peabody Development Co., a Peabody Holding subsidiary. The transac-

tions are subject to approvals by government authorities, Hanson said. The acquisition includes an underground coal mine, a coal-preparation plant, more than 60 million tons of seam coal reserves and related

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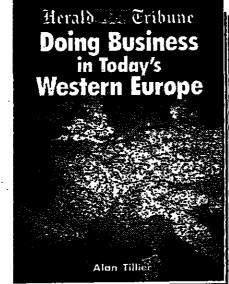
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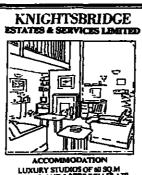
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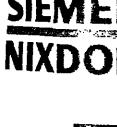
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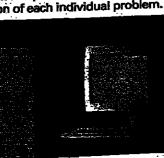
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On 2 July, Singapore Airlines introduces its first non-stop service to New York. Our exclusive MEGATOP 747 departs Brussels every Tuesday, Friday and Saturday morning and Frankfurt every Monday, Thursday and Sunday morning, arriving in New York (JFK) in time for lunch. So now you can relax all the way to the Big Apple whilst enjoying inflight service even other airlines talk about. SINGAPORE AIRLINES

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مستد مؤرد معیرسی

Japan Avoids a Row on Chips Industry to Boost U.S. Semiconductor Sales

Compiled by Our Staff From Disposches TOKYO - Japanese and U.S. industry officials announced an agreement Thursday simed at quickly increasing sales of U.S. computer chips in Japan, avoiding a showdown on the issue of access

The Make the second

to the \$20 billion Japanese semiconductor market. "Our mission is to avoid any misunderstanding that might lead to potential sanctions," said Shinichi Itoh, head of a committee of the Electronic Industries Association of Japan that deals with foreign chip purchases.

Japan's 10 largest semiconductor users, which

account for about half of all Japanese chip purchases, agreed to take "emergency" actions to dramatically increase purchases of foreign semiconductors over the next six months.

Under the main point of the agreement reached between the Japanese association and the U.S. Semiconductor Industry Association, the 10 Japanese companies will give U.S. suppliers lists of additional semiconductors they are willing to buy during the second half of this year.

The Japanese industry group also pledged to seek commitments from its 62 member companies to observe the semiconductor trade pact, promote purchases of high-value, custom-designed foreign chips and increase foreign orders at a rate greater than the overall expansion of demand when Japan's economy recovers.

An agreement signed by the two countries last summer set a goal of a 20 percent market share for foreign chips in Japan by the end of 1992. But the foreign share has stalled at about 15 percent for the past two years, and sales of foreign

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chips actually have fallen in recent months because of Japan's weak economy.

Most of the top 10 users already buy at least 20 percent of their chips from foreign suppliers. But they are active in overseas markets and therefore are sensuive to the possible fallout from a trade dispute over failure to reach the 20 percent goal.

Many of the increased foreign chip purchases under the agreement are likely to be low-profit, off-the-shelf "commodity" chips available from many suppliers, and not the custom-designed chips that encourage long-term relationships between suppliers and users.

in addition, the agreement specifies that the special measures are only for 1992, which could lead to a subsequent sales drop.

James Norling, vice chairman of the U.S. semiconductor group, welcomed the measures, saying they would lead to an increase in purchases of

foreign chips "quickly and dramatically."
"It is specific, aggressive and therefore has an excellent chance, if implemented well, of achieving these goals," he said of the pact. Association officials had warned of a looming

trade crisis if a satisfactory agreement was not reached in talks this week with the Japanese group. U.S. semiconductor makers say they could have an additional \$1 billion in sales per year if the foreign market share reached 20 percent.

Japan blames the slump in foreign market share on weak demand for electronic products that use semiconductors. It also says the 20 percent marketshare figure in the semiconductor pact reached last summer is a goal, not a commitment. (AP, Reuters)

Imported Car Sales Fall in Japan

TOKYO — Japanese consumers bought fewer imported cars in May than they did a year earlier, marking the 17th straight monthly drop, the Japan Antomobile Importers Association said Thursday.

In May, 13,561 imported cars, buses and trucks were sold, down 13.2 percent from 15,616 the same month last year, the association said. It attributed the weak sales to Japan's economic slowdown and lower demand for expensive cars. The total for the first five months of the year was 68,375 vehicles, down 15.5 percent.

The plunge in May reflected a slump in sales of passenger cars, which fell 13.7 percent, to 13,309 units. Truck sales rose 29.3 percent, to 247 units, while bus sales increased from one to five.

Sales of German vehicles, which accounted for 60.1 percent of imports, fell 8.1 percent, to 8,026. Sales of U.S.-made vehicles, including ones as-

sembled by Honda, Toyota and other Japanese plants in the United States, totaled 2,382, down 21.1 percent from a year earlier. U.S. passenger cars held 16.22 percent of the import market.

Japanese automakers had pledged during President George Bush's visit to Japan in January to do their best to sell an additional 20,000 U.S. cars per year here by 1995.

Among the U.S. makers, Honda's U.S. subsidiary led the list with 1, 044 passenger vehicles, although sales were down sharply from 1,595 in May 1991.

Sales of General Motors cars fell for the first time this year, slipping 4.1 percent, to 728 vehicles, despite a two-month advertising campaign. But GM Japan attributed the fall to a holiday period that reduced the number of days that public offices were open for registering new vehicle sales.

(AP, UPI, AFP)

Big Imports Hongkong Telecom Sees Cut Surplus Slower Gains After Pact cent over the next three years. The

domestic monopoly on convention-

nonexclusive license when its fran-

chise expires in 1995.

In Taiwan HONG KONG - Hongkong Telecommunications' agreemen with the government to slash charges for the company's big camer, international calls, will slow prof-TAIPEI - Taiwan's trade surplus plunged 45.9 percent in May it growth but the big hit will not come until next year, Finance Direcfrom a year earlier, to \$910 million.

as big government infrastructure projects pulled in imports, the Finance Ministry said on Thursday. Imports climbed 19 percent from a year earlier to \$6.1 billion last

month, bolstered by purchases of transport and anti-pollution equipment from abroad. Exports rose a 2.9 percent, to \$7 billion. In the first five months of this year, the trade surplus rose by 35.7

percent, to \$4.9 billion. A senior Finance Ministry official said imports had begun to rise rapidly because work on major economic-development projects was accelerating. The government envisages spending about \$300 billion

on the projects by 1997. "We need to import more capital goods and facilities for the six-year economic plan, and this will belo to curb the trade surplus," said Lin Yi-fu, deputy director of the Board of Foreign Trade.

The appreciation of the Taiwan dollar to record highs against the U.S. currency is helping to restrain export growth, officials said. But they added that exports were likely to continue growing through the end of this year because of booming trade with China and signs that the U.S. economy is recovering. The Taiwan trade surplus with

Hong Kong, the main conduit for trade with China, rose 29.9 percent from a year ago, to \$1.2 billion. The trade surplus with the United States dropped 17.1 percent to

\$620 million in May. The deficit with Japan climbed 45.3 percent to \$940 million, partly because of the slowdown in the

Japanese economy, officials said. Also Thursday, the central bank announced that the current-account surplus rose to \$2.39 billion in the first quarter, from \$2.26 billion a year earlier.

The overall balance-of-payments surplus fell to \$1.48 billion in the first quarter, from \$1.66 billion a year earlier, because of rising capital outflows for investment.

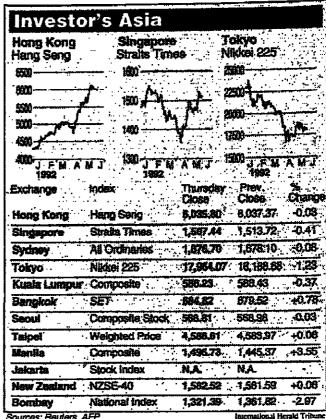
to cut international rates by 12 per-

reductions, which start with an 8 percent cut in the first year, would give Hong Kong consumers the lowest international rates in the world. "I'm not going to be drawn into guessing games on the direct effect

it'll have on our profitability this tor John Tonroe said Thursday. year," Mr. Tonroe said. The com-Telecom's stock dropped quickly to 8.90 Hong Kong dollars (\$1.15) pany's 1991-92 profit rose 12 per-cent, to 5.67 billion Hong Kong in reaction to the pact, from 9.40 on dollars, but the growth was well Wednesday, but recovered to close down from 20 percent-plus rates at 9.15 dollars. achieved in the 1980s. "There's no doubt the company

"The effective date of these will continue to grow," Mr. Tonroe said, but added, "The profitability growth rate will decline." changes will not be until the end of this year or early next year so the direct effect this year will not be that significant," said Mr. Tonroe. On Wednesday, the government said it would scrap the British-con-"The big impact will be next finantrolled company's much-criticized cial year, starting next April."

On the Hong Kong Stock Exal telephones, replacing it with a change, prices closed mixed after a tussle between profit-takers and bargain-hunters precipitated by Hongkong Telecom's early tumble. As part of the arrangement Hong-kong Telecom, which is 58.5 per-cent-owned by Cable & Wireless The blue-chip Hang Seng Index edged down 1.57 points to close at 6.035.80, after touching a low of PLC, will keep its international mo-nopoly until 2006. But it also agreed 5.979.73 on the Telecom news



Very briefly:

India's Central Bureau of Investigation filed criminal charges against Harshad Mehta, the financier who is at the center of a multibillion-rupee scam involving funds belonging to several banks; the police also launched more than 30 raids in Bombay and seized documents related to the case.

• China has accelerated preparations for a project of Formosa Plastics, of Taiwan, in Xiamen on the southern Chinese coast and told officials to speed up infrastructure construction, a Beijing-funded newspaper in Hong Kong reported.

C. Itoh & Co., the Japanese trading company, and Lasmo PLC, the British oil company, obtained rights to jointly explore for crude oil off southern Vietnam; the companies will spend about \$250 million each on the project and hope production will being by 1996.

 Mazda Motor Corp. said it would start making vans in China jointly with C. Itoh & Co. and a local company, starting in July.

 Jardine Strategic Holdings Ltd.'s shareholders have approved plans to move the company's primary listing of its ordinary shares from Hong Kong to London; the transfer is expected to take effect Sept. 7.

 Kobe Steel Ltd. and Texas Instruments Inc. announced the completion of a 55 billion yen (\$43) million) semiconductor wafer plant in Japan. • The Philippines said GNP grew only 2.04 percent in the first three months of this year, held back by drought and the global recession.

 A Peat Marwick accountant, Choi Hon-kwan, was jailed in Hong Kong after pleading guilty to charges that he stole more than \$1 million from the collapsed local unit of Bank of Credit & Commerce International. AFX, Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP

Vietnam Farmers Are Left Holding Bumper Rice Crop

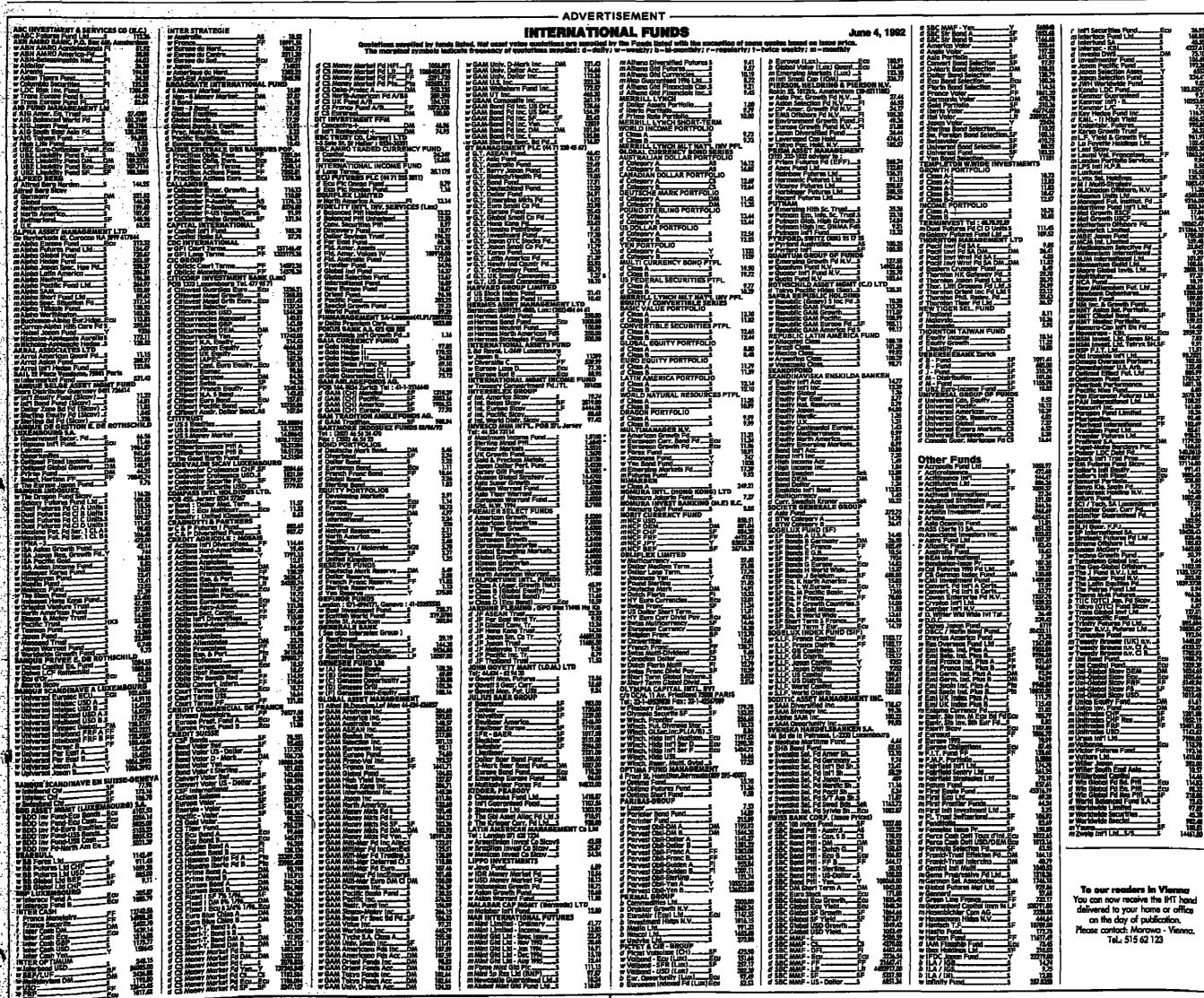
HANOI - Rice farmers in Vietnam have produced the biggest

spring harvest on record, but face falling prices and hold big surpluses of the crop, especially in the Mekong Delta in the south. Hindering exports is the lack of storage, processing transport and credit facilities to convert the bumper crop into a proportional increase in exports. Much-needed capital from the West for investment in agriculture has not been forthcoming. In 1989, Vietnam shifted from being a rice importer to the world's

third-largest exporter, behind the United States and Thailand, after Hanoi decollectivized agriculture and allowed farmers to produce crops for profit. Vietnam could export a record 1.5 million metric tons to 2.0

million tons of rice this year, said the agriculture and food industry minister, Nguyen Cong Tan. He added that the country had shipped an unprecedented 500,000 tons in the first five months of the year. The February-March barvest in the country's premier rice-grow-

ing region, the Mekong Delta, produced about 4.6 million tons of paddy, or unmilled rice. That is 700,000 tons more than last year. While Mr. Tan did not reveal the size of the surplus, a senior Vietnamese source put it at 1.2 million tons, and added that it could grow to 3.0 million tons by the end of the year.



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SPORTS NBA FIN

Jordan Breaks Records As Bulls Shatter Blazers With 33-Point Triumph

By Clifton Brown

New York Times Service CHICAGO - Michael Jordan added a thick chapter to his storybook career. Inspired by the challenge of Clyde Drexler and the Portland Trail Blazers. Jor-

dan, with a 35-point first half, carried the Chicago Bulls to a 122-89 victory over the demoralized the Trail Blazers in Game 1 of the National Basketball Association championship series.

The four-of-seven-game finals resume here Friday night.

Jordan's first-half performance Wednesday night set several records for the NBA

, His 35 points were the most by one player

DREXLER: "The shots Jordan took were the ones I wanted him to take but, obviously, not make."

JORDAN: "My shot was falling from everywhere, so I ran to the 3-point line and let them go."

DREXLER: "The guy was shooting the ball incredibly well from the outside.

Nobody counted on him hitting all those 3-pointers. There was nothing we could JORDAN: "I was in a zone. The 3s

felt like free throws. I took them and they went in DREXLER: "Those are the shots we want Michael to take. Those shots will

be available to him in Game 2. And in DREXLER: "It seemed like a horror

story. You don't take it personally."

during one half of the final, surpassing Elgin Baylor's 33-point half for the Los Angeles Lakers against Boston on April 14, 1962. Jordan's 14 field goals in the half matched the mark set by Isiah Thomas of Detroit against the Lakers on June 19, 1988. against the Lakers on June 19, 1988. Jordan also tied the record for most 3-

pointers made during a final game, six, achieved by Bill Laimbeer of Detroit in 1990 and by Michael Cooper of the Lakers in

And Jordan, who finished with 39 points and 11 assists after sitting out a good chunk of the second half, set a series record by attempting 10 3-point shots during the

Led by Jordan, the Bulls turned the contest into a rout. Ahead by 15 points at half time, they opened the second half with a

15-2 run, taking an 81-53 lead with 8 minutes and 26 seconds left in the third quarter.

Portland came unglued at both ends, committing turnovers, forcing bad shots and failing to get back quickly on defense.

It was a shock for the Western Division champions, who came into the game think-ing they had the talent and confidence to

Perhaps the Trail Blazers will recover. But both Jordan and the Bulls proved emphatically in Game 1 that they are determined to repeat as champions.

dethrone the Buils.

In perhaps the greatest half of his career, Jordan not only scored 35 points but helped Chicago overcome some early rustiness and build a commanding 66-51 lead at intermis-

Perhaps motivated by the weeklong comparisons between himself and Drexler, Jordan took his game to another level, one that Drexler could not match.

Most of Jordan's points came while Drexler was defending him, but there isn't a player on the planet who could have stopped Jordan on Wednesday night.

Besides setting a championship series re-cord for points, Jordan's first-half performance came close to at least two other play-

It was the second-highest playoff point total for a player in a half, topped only by Sleepy Floyd's 39-point second half against the Lakers in 1987 while playing for Golden State. And Jordan also made 14 first-half field goals, topped only by Floyd's 15 during the same second half in 1987.

The most impressive part of Jordan's ex-plosion was his long-range shooting. He made six 3-point shots in the half, bringing the Chicago Stadium crowd to its feet and almost bringing Portland to its knees. It was an incredible long-distance shooting exhibition, especially for a player known more for his dunks than for his jumper.

The more jumpers Jordan made, the more confident he became.

And with a flair for the dramatic, his final two baskets of the half were among his most spectacular.

With Jerome Kersey staring at him in disbelief, Jordan made a 3-pointer from well behind the key, almost 30 feet (9.12 meters)

Then, after Scottie Pippen missed with a fast-break lay-up, Jordan grabbed the rebound high above the rim and threw down a



Michael Jordan, and Scott Williams, even ruffled Kevin Duckworth's feathers.

impressive: 14 for 21 from the field, 6 for 9 from 3-point range. By the end of the half, Drexler was gasping for air trying to chase Jordan and had scored just 8 points.

The Trail Blazers did start the game well, mping to a 25-17 lead. Picking up where he left off against Utah, Terry Porter made his first five shots. But even before Jordan broke loose, Portland's foul trouble started to change the game's momentum.

seeing people in orange robes. He starts missing his girlfriend, misplaces his sex drive and eventually leaves without ex-

ploring "the rivers of anonymous Diony-

From the ashram, it's on to the Hima-

it back to New York, though his restless-

Through all this, several questions

keep spinning away like pinwheels in his

mind: Why can't be commit to his girl-

friend, Meg? Was he guilty of allowing his mother to drift off into madness?

And most important, who and what is

If some of Brewster's agonizing is ado-lescent, self-indulgent and tinged with

mindless hippie jargon, it's also redeemed by his self-deprecating humor and his

ability to relate his adventures with both

In the end, "Impossible Vacation" is

more a written monologue than a con-

ventional novel: There's a narrowness of

emotional focus to the volume, and

Brewster, alone, emerges as a full-fledged

character, while everyone else is relegat-

from the stage to the medium of print.

Michiko Kakutani is on the staff of The

immediacy and wry detachment.

ed to a walk-on role.

New York Times.

layas and then Amsterdam.

In time of course, Brev

ness refuses to diminish.

Buck Williams, Kevin Duckworth, and Porter all committed two fouls in the first six and they accepted. Chicago turned aggres- Bulls will long remember.

Jordan's first-half-shooting numbers were sive, Portland turned tentative. And the tide began to turn.

Then Jordan took over. Respecting his ability to drive, Drexler played several steps off Jordan in the first half, giving him room to take his jumper. Drexler gambled that Jordan's jump shot would be off. It was a bad gamble by Drexler and the beginning of

Even though Jordan only added four points to his total in the third quarter, the Bulls outscored Portland, 38-17, and were up by 36 points, 104-68, after three periods. By the fourth quarter, the Trail Blazers were minutes. Such early foul trouble was an already trying to forget about this game. But invitation for the Bulls to drive to the basket, it was a performance that Jordan and the

PEANUTS

Eckersley Steadies in Ninth as Boston Rally Falls Short

A's Stifle Red Sox for Sweep

The Boston Red Sox scored five runs off reliever Dennis Eckersley in three games. None mattered. "We got our butts whipped here, that's for sure," said Boston's man-

ager, Butch Hobson, after the Oakiand Athletics completed a threegame sweep of the Red Sox with a 7-6 victory Wednesday. Terry Steinbach broke a 4-4 tie

in the seventh inning with a tworun single, Jose Canseco hit two home runs and Mark McGwire added his 20th homer of the season. Canseco missed five games last week with a sore shoulder, but now has three homers in six games and has driven in runs in 10 of his last

Eckersley appeared in all three games of the series, saving two. The Red Sox tagged him for three runs in a 10-7 loss Monday night and scored two Wednesday. They could have used one of those runs Tuesday night, when Eckersley got the last five outs to protect a 5-4 lead.

And that, said the Oakland manager, Tony La Russa, is the real Eckersley, who entered the series having allowed only two runs in 221/2 innings. Now he has a rather mortal earned-run average of 2.42. but 20 saves to go with it.

"When he came in with a onerun lead, it was boom-boomboom." La Russa said. "If you have a one-run lead compared to a three-

Eckersley was called on to proby Jody Reed, Jack Clark and Phil Plantier produced two runs and put the go-ahead run at the plate. Ellis Burks, however, grounded to third to end the game.

Eckersley, who has saved 24 straight going back to last season, is one save shy of tying the major

AMERICAN LEAGUE

league record of 25 set by Toronto's Tom Henke. Twins 11, Blue Jays 3: Kirby

Puckett hit his second grand-slam home run in six days and tied a career high with five RBIs in Minneapolis to hand Toronto's Juan Guzman his first loss of the year. Guzman hadn't lost since Oct. 5, when the Twins beat him, 3-1. He is

16-4 in the majors.
Tigers 10, Brewers 4: In Milwaukee. Cecil Fielder hit two two-run homers and drove in five runs as Detroit ended a six-game skid. Fielder, who had just one home run since April 23, hit an RBI sin-

gle in a five-run first and homered in the fourth and again in the sixth. Angels 4, Orioles 3: Pinch-hitter Lee Stevens's first RBI this season in Anaheim, California, on a basesloaded infield grounder in the 10th, capped a comeback that beat Balti-

run lead, you pitch guys different-

The Angels, scoring more than three runs for the only time on their nine-game home stand, tied in the tect a 7-4 lead Wednesday, but hits seventh on Gary DiSarcina's first major league homer, a two-run shot. He also made a run-saving play at shortstop in the eighth.

Rangers 4, Yankees 3: New York's Shawn Hillegas made an errant pickoff throw in the 13th after Jeff Huson put the Rangers in position to win with his own failure Arlington, Texas.

Hillegas was attempting to pick off pinch-runner John Cangelosi with none out, but threw the ball wide of third baseman Charlie Hayes. Cangelosi came home with the run that ended a 4-hour, 31minute game that gave Texas its 17th victory in the last 19 games against the Yankees.

Kevin Reimer opened the inning with a single. Huson was unsuc-cessful in trying to sacrifice before moving Cangelosi to third on a hit-and-run single. Hillegas faked to third, faked to first and then wheeled and double-chriched before throwing the ball away.

Indians 8, Mariners 3: Sandy Alomar's first grand slam in the majors capped a seven-run fourth

Royals 3, White Sox 1: Brian McRae singled home the go-ahead run in Kansas City, Missouri, as Chicago lost for the eighth time in

Quick-Hit Reds Keep Streak Going

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches It took just five pitches for the

Cincinnati Reds to sing their way back into the game against the visiting St. Louis Cardinals.
The rally, which began with back-to-back home runs by Barry

Larkin and Chris Sabo in a fourrun sixth inning, brought the Reds from four runs down on the way to an 8-7 victory Wednesday night. It was the eighth triumph in the last nine games for Cincinnati,

al League West. With a seven-game western trip coming up, we're in good position right now," said the Reds' manag-

er. Lon Piniella Larkin began the rally with his

SO, BECAUSE YOU'RE A

third homer of the year and Sabo and San Diego avoided a three-followed with his third one pitch game sweep. later. Glenn Braggs doubled on the next pitch and two pitches later Paul O'Neill singled home Braggs.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

single by Reggie Sanders to forge

In the seventh, Braggs's second double and pinch hitter Bip Roberts's RBI single made it 8-6. which is back on top in the Nation-

> Cubs 5, Padres 2: In Chicago, Gary Sheffield singled twice and doubled for three RBIs, Bruce Hurst pitched a six-hitter for his third complete game in five starts

Phillies 4, Braves 1: Curt Schilling pitched seven shutout imnings in Atlanta and Darren Dalton ho-O'Neill later scored on a two-out mered in a three-run first as Philadelphia stopped the Braves' five-

game winning streak.

Pirates 6, Dodgers 5: Jeff King drove in three runs with two singles in Pittsburgh as the Pirates withstood pinch hitter Dave Anderson's two-run homer in the Los Angeles seventh.

Astros 5, Expos 3: Rafael Ramirez capped a four-run first in Houston with a run-scoring single and Jeff Bagwell ran his hitting streak to eight games with a long homer against Montreal (UPI, AP)

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BOOKS

IMPOSSIBLE VACATION

By Spalding Gray. 228 pages. \$22. Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 201 East 50th Street, New York, New York 10022.

Reviewed by Michiko Kakutani

"I" HIS book is Spalding Gray's longunfinished novel, referred to repeatedly in his entertaining 1990 monologue, "Monster in a Box." As that monologue suggested, "Impossible Vacation" is about a man who can't take a vacation -or rather a man who finds "it very difficult to take pleasure when in very plea-

surable places." * It's about a character named Brewster North — who used to be called Spalding Gray, until Gray "changed the names to protect the guilty" — and his efforts to learn "how to hang out like a guy hanging out alone." It's about Brewster's attempts to come to terms with his mother's suicide, and his subsequent wanderings in search of peace of mind.
... "Impossible Vacation," however, isn't

the 1,900-page monster that Gray complained about in his monologue. This is a modest-size book of modest-size ambitions, considerably less discursive than many of the author's monologues, and fairly straightforward in the depiction of its hero's peripatetic adventures.

"Impossible Vacation" is essentially a chronological chronicle of Brewster North's coming of age, beginning with his memories of a childhood summer

DOONESBURY

1205. A PLAGUE-STRICKS

spent on the Rhode Island shore and ending with his decision to return home after a series of emotionally harrowing trips in America and abroad

The story is told firsthand, by Brewster, a hapless modern-day Candide, who, not surprisingly, speaks in a voice almost inishable from the one Gray employs in his own monologues: an intimate, casual voice, capable of discussing anything from pomographic films to Che-khov's "Sea Gull," from acid trips to family holidays, with lightly ironic candor.

Brewster tells us about "the world of totally protected pleasure" he experienced as a small boy, basking in the warmth of his mother's affection. He tells us about her growing madness and her commitment to a sanitarium and his return from a holiday in Mexico to discover that she has committed suicide.

Overcome with guilt and remorse, Brewster turns to "fantasies of Liberation." He wants to learn how to live in the moment. Toward that end, he takes up the study of Zen, which leads him to a weeklong retreat in the Poconos, where he fails to achieve the transcendent state of "Big Mind," but instead has an Xrated vision of sexual bliss.

This vision, in turn, leads Brewster to India: While his girlfriend, Meg, shops for rugs, he intends to study Tantric sex practices at the ashram of the famous Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh.

Things at the ashram, however, don't quite proceed according to Brewster's plans. He's hot and irritable, and sick of By-Alan Truscott

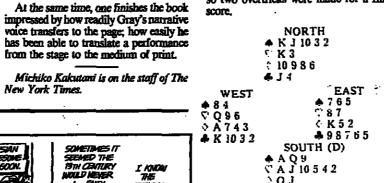
N the diagramed deal, North-South I had three plausible game contracts. Four spades was the safest, but three notrump offered good prospects of an excellent score. West had to guess which

BRIDGE

A chib lead would have been won by the queen. South would have crossed to the heart king and finessed the jack, losing to the queen. That would produce twelve tricks unless West was inspired to shift to diamonds, holding South to ten

After a diamond lead to the king, with the jack appearing from South, East should have thought carefully. A diamond return would be right only if West held the queen and if South was ready to run more than 10 tricks. But both were unlikely, and a club shift was indicated.

But East routinely returned a diamondat the second trick, prey to the "always return partner's suit" syndrome, and the defense was helpless. West won with the ace and played a third diamond. South won in dummy, led to the club ace, and ran dummy's spades. The last diamond then squeezed West in hearts and clubs, so two overtricks were made for a fine



Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding: East South West North Pass Pass 2 N.T. Pass Pass Pass

West led the diamond three.

DOG I GUESS YOU HAVE TO DEPEND ON ME BUT I DON'T REALLY WANT YOU TO FEEL YOU HAVE TO DEPEND ON ME ... YOU KNOW WHAT I'M ASSESS. SAYING ? **BEETLE BAILEY**

YOU WEIGH 265 rounds! wow! Better Get My NEW DIET BOOK, THE WEIGHT SCALE'S MIRACLE MENU PLAN."



CALVIN AND HOBBES





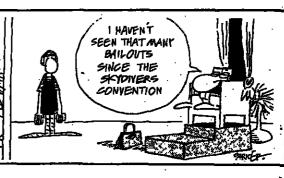




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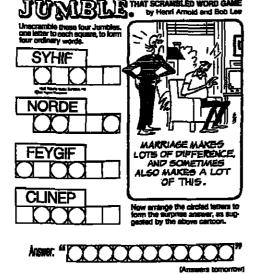




DENNIS THE MENACE



' If you could use a little belt YOU CAN BORROW ONE OF MINE!





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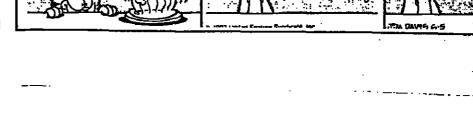












teili Graf was pained by Arautxa Sánchez Vicario's first-set rout.

Courting an Attack: The Final Battle Is Looming By Ian Thomsen stional Flerald Tribuné

PARIS - Her black hair tied in white bun, her shoulders hunched, Monica Seles tossed up a service ball and swing an axe at it. At least it looked that way Thursday as the ball drifted into the approaching stride of Gabriela Sabatim, who slammed a forehand winner down the line.

Her opponent, the world's No. 1 player, looked from the distant seats of Centre Court at Stade Roland Garros like a 47-year-old

"If you could do it all over again," a reporter asked Sabatini more than an hour later, after Seles's 6-3, 4-6, 6-4 victory in a French Open semifinal, you start maybe to attack a little bit go for it." more, instead of playing a passive

"I think I was attacking," Sabatini said. "Suddenly she started hit-ting the ball hard and I just couldn't do anything. I was playing very well and I was very into the match and here to win the match.

Suddenly she starts hitting the ball match." Three weeks ago she lost very hard, and I was just defending the Italian Open final in two myself. There wasn't much I could sets to Sabatini. "In the first

wasn't tired. She turned her back on the court, took a short walk, said something only she could hear. When she turned around again, the wrinkles had disappeared. She was attacking Sabatim's serve, moving She had now broken Seles to go ahead, 4-2, in the final set. She had won 11 of the last 12 points.

The world's No. 1

The world's No. 1

"I just said give it everything you have, run for every ball," Seles said. "I really tried to stay focused, you know, just don't choke, even if I am serving for the match. It doesn't matter. Just go for it. That was the key thing. At 4-2 I didn't look at the score. I just said When was the last time she

She mentioned a quarterfinal loss to Jennifer Capriati at Key Biscayne, Florida, more than two months ago. 'On a few key points I choked there," she said, "but I

don't think that decided the happen late in the match, and it is

when you miss a backhand volley to an open court five games into the opening set.
The truth is she does not appear

"But that happens to every-

'Why all these questions lately about burnout and young players having trouble? I mean, how many of them are having troubles? I don't see it at all. I mean, I feel fine. I think I am really motivated right

--- Steffi Graf, 22

times that I choked, I don't think it was very important points. So I was

set, I choked a few times," she

Actually, she didn't understand the question. You don't choke early in a match, and you don't choke away unimportant points. If you are going to choke, it is going to

body," Seles said. "I mean, today I to know the first thing about choke-choked on a few points, except the ing, except for what opponents ing, except for what opponents have shown her.

The more crucial the point, the harder she attacks. Two days earlier, in this tournament she won her five millionth dollar. In matches like this one, the money seems almost irrelevant to her. At the age of 18, she does not appear likely to

"Why all these questions lately about burnout and young players having trouble?" Graf, 22, complanned the other day. "I mean, how many of them are having troubles? I don't see it at all. I mean, I feel fine. I think I am really motivated right now."

Early in her semifinal Thursday, Graf bounced a ball off her racket and looked around Centre Court. She saw the same stadium, the same fans, the same opponent, the same score on the same scoreboard as she had seen one year before. She had lost the first set, 6-0, to No. 4 Arantxa Sánchez Vicario, who last year had also won the next set

"I more or less told myself that I am a better player than that," Graf said. "I just said, O.K., just work for it. Just run down whatever you can, just get the ball in

She began to play for rallies, extending points patiently. At 30-40 in the second game the crowd be-

going to happen at crucial points. does her opponent in the final, No.

Seles seems to define choking as 2 Steffi Graf.

was lasting so long. Finally, Sanchez missed a backhand to lose her serve. Rather than accepting defeat in straight sets like the previous year, Graf won 12 of the last 16

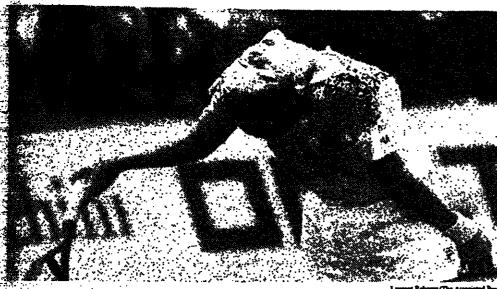
"I think I do enjoy it a lot more than I have maybe last year at that stage," Graf said Thursday. "I am in a lot better shape, and I don't know - outside of the court I am

just very calm." Both winners maintained they that were just happy to have advanced to the final. They had achieved their primary goal, they each said. This weekend, no doubt,

they will forget those words. "I am just going to have to play some great tennis," Seles said. "Pretty much 90-percent first serves, not making many unforced errors, running very well, running a lot of balls down and everything going pretty well."

Greater than her last four games against Sabatini?

"It still hasn't hit me totally how played," she said, "but I really don't think I was playing that great



Monica Seles was nearly bowled over by Gabriela Sabatini before the defending champion rallied.

European Training By Baseball 'Envoys'

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WASHINGTON - Players and coaches from U.S. colleges and iniversities will teach baseball in Great Britain and Czechoslovakia this summer as part of major league baseball's "Envoy Program," Major League Baseball International Partners announced Wednesday. A spokesman for the group, set up by major

leagne baseball and NBC International to promote baseball wordwide, said the Americans will "ensure first rate instruction" for players in the the two countries that will be "reinforced throughout the summer."

A team of 16 players and two coaches from 10 schools in the Chicago area will leave June 17 for Britain. They will live with families in the English cities of London, Cambridge, Reading, Essex, and Birmingham as well as in Edinburgh.

On June 18, another team of 14 players and two oaches from six schools in northern California will leave for Czechoslovakia. They will live and teach in Brno, Bratislava, Ostrava and Prague.
The U.S. players and coaches will conduct clin-

ics for youths and adults. In addition, the players in Britain will take part as a team in the Triple Crown Tournament in Antwerp, in which the national teams of France and Belgium will also

SIDELINES

England's Soccer Team Loses 2 Players to Injuries

LONDON (Renters) - England's preparations for the European soccer championship received another blow Thursday when defender Gary Stevens was ruled out with an ankle 'stress lesion' that may require

Winger John Barnes had ruptured an Achilles' tendon early in Wednesday's 2-1 exhibition victory over

England has asked UEFA for permission to replace the pair with Andy Sinton of Queen's Park Rangers and Manchester City's Keith Curle.

For the Record

A.P. Indy drew the first post position Thursday and was made the early 6-5 favorite for Saturday's 124th running of the Belmont States.

Endrio Leoni sprinted from behind to narrowly defeat Italian tival Mario Cipollini in Thursday's 12th stage of the Tour of Italy cycing race. Spain's Miguel Indurain, with the same time as the wimer, retain the overall leader's jersey for the 10th straight day. (AP)

Commissioner Fay Vincent said he will decide by July I whether to override the National League constitution and mandate divisional realignment, despite

the objections of the Chicago Cubs. (AP)

James McGirt of the United States will defend his WBC welterweight title against Patrizio Oliva of Italy on June 25 in Licola, Italian matchmaker Elio Cotena announced Thursday.



Petr Korda was down but not out after eliminating Andrei Cherkasov in the last men's quarterfinal.

Both Top Seeds Face Upset, Then Prevail; **Korda Gains Semis**

By Nick Stout

PARIS - Steffi Graf was facing break point. She sighed, then tossed up the ball and drove it up the middle. On the other side of the net, Arantxa Sanchez Vicario hardly saw it go by. In any event, she did

The official whose job it is to stare at the center line did not see the ball either. But he called a fault. Graf knew better, and on closer inspection of the mark where the ball had landed -- or was presumed to have landed, because there are many such dust marks - all parties

agreed that the serve was good. Ace. So instead of handing Sánchez a 3-0 lead Thursday in the third set of their semifinal contest in the French Open, Graf proceeded to save the game.

As it happened. Sánchez would never win a third game. Graf was in charge now, and the final score would read 0-6, 6-2, 6-2 in her favor. "That was probably the most im-

portant game of the whole match," said Graf, who will play Monica Seles for the French championship on Saturday.

Seles, the top seed, outlasted Gabriela Sabatini, 6-3, 4-6, 6-4, in a The result might have still gon peculiarly balanced match. In the last two sets, each contestant won as many games on her opponent's

serve as she did on her own. Earlier, Petr Korda finished off Andrei Cherkasov, 6-4, 6-7 (3-7), 6-2, 6-4, to gain a semifinal appointment with Henri Leconte on Friday. The winner will meet Jim Courier or Andre Agassi in the championship match Sunday.

Korda, a Czechoslovak ranked No. 8 in the world, had never before advanced past the second round of the French Open. Consequently, his match with Leconte will be his first singles appearance on Centre Court.

"I hope they let me practice there tomorrow," he said. Sabatini, who beat Seles last month for the Italian Open championship, dealt a similarly mixed offering of tennis shots on Thursday. But this time Seles was ready. "I think I was able to run down a

lot of balls today," Seles said.
"Much better than in Rome." Both semifinals here showed Thursday how exciting women's tennis can be if the participants have the right names.

Seles and Sabatini dazzled each other with winners down the lines and deft drop shots when it mattered. And it was Sanchez's swiftness that nearly drove Graf to the showers. Sánchez repeatedly ran down shots that were already drawing applause from a house that believed the point was won.

As always, however, in the end it was confidence and a little bit of buck that made the difference Graf, who might have wilted af-

ter the 6-0 embarrassment, said she kept telling herself: "Just work for it. Just run down whatever you can. Just get the ball in play." "I just fired myself up," she add-

The result might have still gone Sánchez's way if, in the third set, she had held serve in the sixth game. She had survived a 15-40 deficit thanks to Graf's long service return and subsequent forehand error. Moments later, on game point, Sánchez delivered what she thought was an ace up the middle.

betrayed her, and she lost the replayed point. She saved another break point, then wasted two more game points. Graf finally won by lifting a soft cross-court forehand lob over her diminutive opponent, who watched helplessly from the forecourt.

But, again, the tell-tale dust mark

"I played a good match, and I probably had some chances in the third set," Sanchez acknowledged, "but she was very, very lucky. I had control of the match, and I played really well, but I was not lucky like she was."

In the Seles-Sabatini affair, the killer instinct was at play. It did not matter who was serving. Every game was different.

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the match at 5-4 she had to get past two break points before she could

"Tm O.K.," Sabatini said calmly in the television studio where she was led straight from the court. "I'm satisfied with the match. I played a good match. She just played better."

Graf holds a 5-2 record over Seles, dating to the 1989 French Open. They played a memorable final here in 1990, when Seles saved four consecutive set points in a tiebreaker and then beat Graf for her

SCOREBOARD

laior League Standings AMERICAN LEAGUE

Wednesday's Line Scores AMERICAN LEAGUE AMERICAN LEAGUE

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Dorwin (8) and Flaherty, Pena (8); Stusarski,
Compbell (4), Parrett (6), Eckersley (9) and
Quirk, Steinboch (4), W—Parrett, 5-0, L—Gardiner, 3-4, Sv—Eckersley (26), HRs—Outland, Cameco 2 (12), McGwire (20).

iond, Censeco 2 (12), McCourie Coll.
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(9) and Holles, Tackett (1); Flatey, Elchaorn (7), Fray (8), Balles (10) and Parrish. W-Balles, 3-0. L-Mills, 2-1. HR—California, Dis-980 820 818-3 72 9 998 708 872-8 12 1

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Petrolii (7), W-Ropers, 1-2, L-Hillegas, 0-2,
HRS-Texas, Palmer (10), Franco (1).
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(7), Bankhead (8), Chariton (7) and Oliver.
W-Ruskin, 2-1. L.—Corpenter, 2-2. 54—Chariton (12), HR3-51. Louis, Pena (2), Cincinneti, Larkin (3), Sobo (3). Larkin (3), Sabo (3).
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-Mil, Williams, (9). HRS—
ton (5), Arlanta, Gott (8).

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dello; Castillo, Bullinger
and Girordi, W-Hurst, 5-4.

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ion (5), Lamp (7), B.Patterson (8), Belindo (9) and LaVolliere. W.—Gleaton, 1-0. L.—Martinez, 3-2. Sv.—Belindo (7), HR.—Los Angeles, Anderson (3).

Montreal 116 616 665—3 8 2 Houston 600 619 665—5 9 1 K.Hill, Rolas (5), Fassero (7) and Carter; Hamilsch, Boever (6), D.Jones (9) and Toubensee, W.—Harnisch, 3-5, L.—K.Hill, 4-3, Sv.—D.Jones (13), HRs.—Montreal, Alou (2), Clartrocco, (6), Houston, Borwell (7).

Japanese Baseball

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TRANSACTIONS

BASERALL
American League
MINNESOTA—Optioned Pat Mohame
Incher, and Jarvis Brown, outfielder, he Por
and, Pacific Cass League, Recalled Willia
the billings and LT Rough, walfielde OAKLAND—Put Rickey Henderson, out-fielder, on 15-day disabled list as of May 21. Activated Walt Welss, shortstop, from 15-day

isobled list. TEXAS—Put Jack Dausherty, o on 15-day disabled list as of June 1. Book Contract of Russ McGinnis, catcher-infield

from Oktohoma City, American Association. Signed Ritchie Moody, pitcher, and Scott Mo-lone, first basemon-outlielder. TORONTO—Signed Shonnon Stewart, out-leider, and Tomothy Crabines, ottcher.

National Leasue
COLORADO—Signed Mark Thoma
Nichael Elffert, pitchers. HOUSTON-Optioned Andujor Cedeno. shortsite, to Tucser, Pocific Coast League, Re-FLORIDA-Signed Scott Samuels and Rick

and Jeremy Kendall, outfleiders, and Larry ST, LOUIS—Activated Pedra Guerrers, out-

fleider, from 15-day disabled list. Put Luis Allices, infleider, on 15-day disabled list.

172-1011 LUXEMBORIA

BASKETBALL National Baskstball Association UTAH—Promoted Scott Layden to director FOOTBALL

and.

NEW ENGLAND—Signed Scatt Lockwood running back, and Freeman Baysinger, delensive both,
TAMPA BAY—Agreed to terms with Eilligh

COLLEGE

JERSEY 9 ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION— Numed Roper Kindel, especiate athletic di-rector at FDU-Madison, as president and Mark Corina, athletic director at Caldwell Callege, as vice president. METRO ATLANTIC ATHLETIC CON-FERENCE—Extended contract of Richard Ensor, commissioner, through 1995, Added women's succer as championship sport. NORTH COAST CON FERENCE—Elected Agmar Pytte, president of Case Western Re-serve University, as president, and S. Freder-ick Starr, president of Oberlin College, as vice president, effective July 1. JERSEY 9 ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION-

president, effective July 1. DARTMOUTH-Names-Jim McCracken men's and women's sauceh coach. FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON-Micoh Blunt, ssistant basketball coach, resigned. JUNIATA—Named Jill M, LaPoint worn-

esketball coach. MINNESOTA—Fired Katalin Dell, wom-

BASKETBALL

NBA Final Chicago leads series 1-4

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11, Housen 2-41-25, Levingston 4-78-08, King 8-31-21, Perdue 1-38-22. Totals 50-71 15-22 122. 3-Palet goals—Portland 1-6 (Ainge 1-2, Drexter 0-2, Porter 0-2), Chicago 7-15 (Jordan 6-10. Armstrong 1-1, Pippen 8-1, Passon 0-1, Honsen 0-1, Levinssion 0-1). Fouled out— None, Reboends—Portland 43 (Kersey 7). Chicago 53 (Piopen, S.Williams 9). Assista-Portland 16 (Oreside 7). Chicago 36 (Jordan 11), Telel toels—Portland 26, Chicago 21.

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ATAT USADIrect Service

Families, the Real Stuff

By Russell Baker N EW YORK — "White Heat" has been stuck in my mind for a week. It's that 1949 gangster movie that ends with James Cagney sizuding on top of an oil-refinery tank, crying "Top of the world, Ma!" as he blows the refinery and himself to Kingdom Come.

It's also about family values, which is why it popped up out of the memory vault last week. That's when everybody was saying what a socko issue the Republicans had tapped into, thanks to Vice President Quayle's speech extolling family values.

Surely nobody who remembers "White Heat" can bear the words "family values" without shuddering. The political types dilating on the splendor of "family values," however, were not talking about family values. They were talking about "family values," an empty political phrase meaning "good swell wholesomeness."

Family values, with quotation marks stripped away, are something else. The real stuff includes Cagney atop that tank, dying with a cry of triumph to the spirit of his dead mother.

And yet - yes, friends - witch though she was, was she not also a mother? A mother, too, who adored her only son, Cody Jarrett, murderous psychopath though he was. And Cody, murderous psy-chopath though he was, adored his old Mom too, adored her more than anything in the world. When talking family values, let's

remember the Jarrett family. It was a family cemented together by love. The evil in which they connived would have repelled movie audiences around the world had Cody not been played by the irresistible Cagney. Ma Jarrett cannot be dismissed as just another sour Holly-wood sneer at the American family, for she had a real-life model in the dreadful Ma Barker.

Real family values receive a lot of attention in our most successful gangster films, and they are values that seem truly valuable, if only because they depict the family as the last line of defense against a danger-

ously threatening government.

In the "Godfather" trilogy, the Corleone family is tightly kint, intensely loyal, and in fact a private government at bloody was with the

iticians who extol "family values." In "Bonnie and Clyde," there is an eerie pastoral moment when the two killers, hotly pursued by the law, receive shelter at a family barbecue given by Bonnie's people,

who choose devotion to family over

the rightful demands of the state. It's not just in gangster movies that family values are shown to be hostile to the values promoted by government, and even morally superior. In "The Grapes of Wrath," the Joad family survives in spite of government hostility at every turn in the road and endures because Joads believe their first obligation

is to family rather than law. At the end, Ma Joad connives in an obstruction of justice when son Tom decides to flee after killing a man. Where does the politician extolling "family values" stand on this case? Does he cry: "Shame on Ma Joad! Throw the book at her for not turning in her son the murderer"?

I think he must if he prefers "family values" to strong families. Implicit in the politician's call for people to shape up and start living their messy lives the way govern-ment wants those lives lived. Listen closely and you can hear politicians insisting on a government duty to meddle in the strange ways of families. You can hear government asserting a duty to promote moral

What could be more loathsome than a government supervising the moral elevation of the family? As all of us here must know when not mesmerized by political quacks, evcry family is a self-governing institution and, in every case, entirely idiosyncratic. To ascribe nobility to such structures is absurd, for each operates under its own rules and

There are large loving families, and large families whose members detest each other while loving the blood that unites them, and dark families primed for intra-family murder, and foolish families stuffed with pride in their genealogy charts, and little two-person families headed by single parents, and divorced families, and families like Ma Jarrett's and Ma Joad's and Ma Barker's.

"Family values"? That's just gas that politicians run on.

New York Times Service

Investing in Art and Life After Tennis

By Nick Stout

PARIS — A female voice resonated from the intercom after the bell was pressed: "Wait until I close up the dogs." Then the iron gate buzzed open, and the visitor was led along a stone-dirt path through the greenery and into the 18th-century mansion, appropriately situated on Rne des Arts in the Paris suburb of Boulogne. Appropriate because the walls of this restored pavillon de chasse are heavy with what the proprietor describes as "the best of Polish painting in the last two centuries."

The collector is the former tennis journeyman Wojtek Fibak, and the mansion, in which he lives with his wife, Ewa, and two teenage daughters, lies only a lob away from Roland Garros Stadium, where the French Open is in full

When he is not receiving John McEnroe for a bout of basement table tennis, or directing his Polish media empire by telephone, or bicycling through the Bois de Bou-logue to kill a free half-hour, Fibak might well be negotiat-

ing the purchase of another canvas. In the past decade and a half, Woitek and Ewa Fibak have assembled what is reputed to be the world's largest private collection of Polish art. Last month, 240 of their 400 or so paintings went on display at the National Museum in Warsaw.

"It's a Wimbledon final for me," Fibak said in a recent interview on his backyard patio. "I never played a Wimble-don final, but that's how I refer to it because it's very rare when the country you come from recognizes a private collection and gives it its best room for a few months."

Fibak, who turus 40 in August, may never have won Wimbledon, but he was not unsuccessful as a tennis player. He ranked consistently among the 15 best players in the world, and, together with the Dutchman Tom Okker, among others, he collected more than a few doubles cham-

"Tennis opened all the doors for me in every respect," said the man whose residences include not only the old hunting lodge in Boulogne but also a Scottish-style castle in Greenwich, Connecticut, apartments in New York and Monte Carlo and a house in his hometown of Poznan. "I was able to leave Poland and travel. And I was always reading and learning. That's my nature. I always wanted to know. And I was always investing. My business is investing in things."

Fibak is a doctor's son whose talent in tennis allowed him to escape the rigidities of Communist Poland and see the world that he had dreamed about when he was a young collector of postage stamps. An upset victory over Arthur Ashe in 1974 brought him international attention, and not long afterward he parted ways with the Polish tennis federation and set out on his own.

In 1973, the Fibaks bought their first work of art - a large abstract work by a contemporary Polish artist — in a small gallery near the Old Town Market Square in Poznan. It was too big to fit on the walls of their 55-squaremeter (590-square-foot) apartment in Winogrady. But it was the beginning of an obsession.

A few years later they were hobnobbing regularly with art dealers and museum curators and attending the major auctions at Sotheby's, Christie's and Drouot.
"It's difficult to talk about the best," said Fibak, who

nonetheless mentioned names like Mojzesz Kisling, Zyg-munt Menkes, Eugeniusz Zak and Leopold Gottlieb. "We just tried to collect the paintings that we thought at the time



Wojtek Fibak at the opening of the exhibition of his art collection at the National Museum in Warsaw.

Most of the painters, he said, were born in Poland, and many were of Jewish origin.

"That's why many people regard the collection as a Polish-Jewish collection," he said. "A lot of them finished at the academies in Warsaw and Krakow at the beginning of the century and then went through Berlin or Munich to Paris, which at that time was a mecca of art.
"They established themselves here in Paris, in the teens

and 1920s, and painted with the big names like Picasso, Matisse, Bonnard and others. Some of them were very well known in the art community — people like Kisling and Menkes — and some not so well known. But they were the most important painters of 19th- and 20th-century Po-

One of his most memorable purchases, Fibak said, was a 1917 self-portrait of Jacek Makezewski, for which he paid \$75,000 - a record in Poland - at an auction two years

Although Fibak likes to refer to his collection as "the Polish school of Paris," he has a number of contemporary paintings, too, not only by Poles but also by European and American painters.

"I still have paintings in New York and Greenwich that represent the New York school of the 1980s," he said. "Some are living, but some are not — like Andy Warhol and Jean Michel Basquiat, who died at the age of 28. He was very well known — like Yannick Noah in tennis, the only black guy, and with a French background."

Fibak's art exhibition, titled "Polish Painting in the Ewa and Wojtek Fibak Collection," will continue in Warsaw until Aug. 9, then move to Poznan from Aug. 22 to Oct. 25. It is the result of two years of preparation. By coincidence, the show opened on the weekend before Roland Garros.

"Like they would say here," Fibak boasted, "Tout Paris showed up. Well, all of Warsaw showed up. A few thousand people just for the first night, when it was not even open to

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

the public. On Saturday and Sunday there were a few thousand people each day. I went in the different rooms and talked about the different painters, their history, and so on." The genesis of Fibak's passion for art is less difficult to explain than the origin of his wealth. Although tennis money was respectable in the 1970s and '80s, it generally did not create multimillionaires of performers in Fibak': class. Yet, Fibak, fluent in six languages and "always investing," somehow built a forume.
"I'm the biggest publisher in Poland," he said, naming

seven publications that he owns, including what he said was the largest local paper in Poland, the Gazeta Poz-nanska. "And last year I bought from the government the largest printing plant in Poland. It's in Katowice. I employ 650 people just in that plant."

Fibak supported Solidanty during the martial law years and refused to play Davis Cup matches in Poland at the time. As a result, he is close to the current government and has accepted the honorary post of consul-general for Poland in Monte Carlo.

"They wanted to offer me something," he said. "Since I could not be an ambassador or anything like that, because of my responsibilities, the idea came up that I should be honorary consul-general. President Walesa said, 'Monaco's a nice place. I'll come and visit you there.'"
Although Fibak plays nowadays in occasional seniors tournaments, he has less and less time for tennis. But then,

tennis never really was his principal occupation.
"You can still do other things," he said. "There's no excuse for not reading newspapers, not going to other towns, not visiting museums or learning languages. I always concentrated on tennis, but I never devoted my life to tennis. I always wanted to do other things. That's why hen I stopped, I never looked back."

"If I were just in tennis," Fibak said, "maybe there would be moments when I'd feel 'Oh, I should have won more matches,' or something like that."

PEOPLE

The Elements of Nature Get Better of Pavarotti

A sore throat and thunderstorms finally got the better of Lacinto Payarotti. After disappearing into a black-draped tent on stage during a concert in Sheffield, England, in gargle after almost every number. and after a thunderstorm nearly drowned out the music inside, the singer finally threw in the towel " think you understand I'm not really well." Pavarotti told about 11,000 fans, in abandoning the rest of the concert. "I think we have to come back to make a better concert he cause you deserve it."

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Size III.

Once again, David and Michi Colfax will see a son graduate mag-na cum laude from Harvard. Reed 22 the third of their four children will receive a degree with high honors, following in the path of his brothers, Grant, 27, class of 87, and Drew, 24, class of '90. That may not be so special, except that none of the Colfax children ever went to school before going to Harvard. They were educated at home in Boonville, California, by their parents. Is the youngest son, Garth, 16. also Harvard bound? "Right now he is more interested in getting a driver's license," Mrs. Collar

Bill Cosby, whose most recent movies, "Leonard Part VI" in 1987 and "Ghost Dad" in 1990, bombed has signed a deal to produce and star in films for Paramount Pictures. The terms were not revealed. Cosby, star of television's recently ended "The Cosby Show," is now producing a new version of the talk show "You Bet Your Life," due this fall.

Conservative residents of Monaco reacted with horror and embarrassment to unmarried Princess Sténhanie's acknowledgement that she is pregnant by a former body-guard, Daniel Ducruet, with whom she has been living for the last year. In an interview with Paris Match, Stéphanie, 27, ruled out marriage in the immediate future. Said the manager of a dry-cleaning shop: "We don't like it. It's bad for the family's image." The Grimaldi family has refused comment. In the interview, the couple said they would marry eventually. "But not under a specter of obligation," Du-cruet said. He also confirmed that he has a 4-month-old son by a former girlfriend.

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